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Senators Hold Up Iran Report



President Ronald Reagan and his wife waved from his hospital window on Tuesday. He said he was "feeling fine."

Democrats Seek A Wider Inquiry Into Arms Sales

By Bob Woodward

WASHINGTON — In an outbreak of partisan disagreement in Congress over the Iranian arms affair, the Senate intelligence committee voted 7-6 not to release a staff report on the panel's investigation into the affair.

According to a source close to the investigation, the 16-page report said that the committee's inquiry had produced no evidence that President Ronald Reagan was aware of the plan attributed to Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North, a Marine Corps officer working on the staff of the National Security Council, to use the arms sales to Iran to generate money for the Nicaraguan rebels.

The decision was made by the Republican-controlled panel that was sitting in the previous Congress.

One Republican, Senator William S. Cohen of Maine, joined the committee's six Democrats in voting not to issue the report.

The ranking Democrat on the intelligence panel in the 99th Congress, Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, said Monday that the staff report was "inaccurate and incomplete." It failed to explain, he said, why arms were traded to Iran or who in the Reagan administration knew that funds from those sales went to the Nicaraguan rebels, known as contras.

But the committee chairman, David F. Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, disagreed. "The whole report is an embarrassment to the administration," he said after Monday evening's committee vote. "And yet it was the president who wanted to get the facts out."

In a statement after the vote, the White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, said: "We are outraged and disappointed. We think the American people have the right to have this information and judge for themselves. The president will continue to do everything he can to see that all the facts come out as quickly as possible."

The administration and Senator Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, the outgoing majority leader, had called on the panel to make the report public.

The new Senate majority leader, Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, said that to release the report "would be jumping the gun and it would not be in the public interest because the American people would be left with a picture that is not complete."

A proposal by Mr. Byrd on further investigation of the affair, See INQUIRY, Page 2



Parisians waited for a bus Tuesday in front of the Gare Saint-Lazare as transit employees walked out while railroad workers continued striking. Power service was also disrupted.

Growing Strikes Disrupt Utilities, Paris Transport

Chirac Vows To Maintain Wage Policy

By Julian Nundy

PARIS — French public sector strikes disrupted transport and power supplies Tuesday as Prime Minister Jacques Chirac reaffirmed his determination to pursue anti-inflationary economic policies.

After a rare full meeting of all his 41 ministers, the Gaullist prime minister said that his government was "absolutely unanimous" in its

determination to keep prices, and therefore wages, down despite the strikes.

Tuesday's stoppages added to a rail strike that is almost three weeks old.

Members of the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor, or CGT, had called on members throughout the public sector to stage a one-day strike Tuesday.

Paris bus and Metro drivers, who have staged intermittent stoppages since just before Christmas, were joined by workers at France's state-owned gas and electricity utilities.

The Paris transport authority said that about half the Metro trains were running and that two-thirds of the buses were operating.

The electricity company, Electricité de France, reported power cuts of up to three hours in some parts of Paris and in Normandy, north-west of the capital.

Traffic signals were blocked out in the Montparnasse district of Paris, adding to the confusion already caused by the transport strikes. Sporadic strikes hit mail sorting offices and the country's arsenals.

Mr. Chirac said after meeting with his ministers: "The government will not deviate from its policies because it would be irresponsible to do so."

In a radio interview later, he added: "There is no possible policy of recovery without a social reaction."

Mr. Chirac said that he had told his ministers that the government's



Jacques Chirac

Brazil Expels U.S. Bank, Warns Others

The Associated Press

BRASILIA — The Brazilian government said Tuesday that it had expelled Mellon Bank of the United States, and officials warned that other foreign banks may be ordered to leave unless they "collaborate" to renegotiate the country's foreign debt of around \$103 billion.

Officials of Brazil's central bank said that Mellon had been told to leave in December because it had refused to sign a debt-rescheduling plan negotiated with other banks last year.

"We felt that a bank that wanted only to enjoy the fiat mignon here but didn't want to collaborate to reschedule the debt could not continue in the country," said a central bank spokesman, Reynaldo Ferreira.

"Other banks that do not collaborate without a social reaction," Mr. Ferreira said. He declined to name specific banks.

Brazil's foreign debt, the largest in the Third World, includes about \$23 billion owed to U.S. banks.

Mellon's refusal also was criticized by senior bankers on Brazil's advisory committee as a potentially dangerous precedent because it could sour the atmosphere of upcoming debt-rescheduling talks, Reuters reported.

"There is a moral if not a legal obligation to keep up trade lines," a New York banker said in São Paulo.

Mellon Bank is a division of Mellon Bank Corp. of Pittsburgh, the 13th-largest U.S. bank holding company, with about \$35 billion in assets. It had only a representative office in Rio de Janeiro and did not operate commercially in Brazil, Mr. Ferreira said.

The conflict between Brazil and Mellon arose during debt renegotiations in March, when a general agreement was reached to reduce the interest rate on the \$16.5 billion of debt that was to fall due in 1985 and 1986 and to renew trade and interbank credits of about \$15.5 billion.

Mellon Bank reportedly refused to endorse the roll over of about \$150 million in short-term debts owed to it by Brazil.

Mr. Ferreira said that Mellon Bank "had not done well in the international area here and had expressed a desire to leave" even before its expulsion.

"We'd like to think Mellon was an isolated case. Other banks have shown good will in debt negotiations," he said.

LATE NEWS

U.S. Will Sell Radar to China

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The Defense Department announced Tuesday that China will buy \$62 million worth of U.S.-made military radar and radio equipment.

The department said Beijing would buy the equipment from Hughes Aircraft Co., which is a division of General Motors Corp.

The move follows the U.S. sale of \$550 million of advanced fighter jet electronics to China last year and the visit by three U.S. Navy ships and 900 sailors to Qingdao in November.

Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger visited China in October.

China became eligible to buy U.S. defensive equipment in 1984 under provisions of the U.S. Foreign Military Sales Act.

INSIDE TODAY



Richard G. Lugar retains the top Republican job on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, thwarting a challenge by Jesse Helms. Page 3.

GENERAL NEWS

■ Argentine human rights groups plan to file many new charges against the security forces. Page 2.

■ Paris is weighing its response to Libya's recent air attack in Chad. Page 5.

■ Charter 77, the Czechoslovak human rights group, appealed for more democracy. Page 6.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ Bank America directors unanimously rejected a \$3.2 billion merger proposal from First Interstate Bancorp. Page 7.

■ H.M. Samuel Group's share prices rose again on speculation of a takeover-bid from the British banking group. Page 7.

President Recovering 'Very Well'

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan is recovering "very well" from his prostate surgery and the final laboratory tests of the tissue taken during the operation showed no signs of malignancy, his doctor said Tuesday.

Mr. Reagan was scheduled for another test later Tuesday, a computerized, three-dimensional X-ray to check for the possible recurrence of cancer, Dr. John Hutton said in a statement released by the White House.

He said that results of that examination would be available Wednesday.

The president is recovering very well from the surgical procedure, Dr. Hutton said. "The final results of the tissue removed during yesterday's transurethral resection are in, and show the tissue to be benign."

Mr. Reagan "feels good and has not complained of any pain," Dr. Hutton said. The doctor said that Mr. Reagan's vital signs were "all in the normal range and are stable and strong."

The president was expected to resume a limited schedule in the White House next week and then gradually increase his activities. Physicians say a full recovery from such surgery may take as long as six weeks.

The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, said the president met Tuesday morning with his new national security adviser, Frank C. Carlucci, and with chief of staff Donald T. Regan, the spokesman added.

Reagan's Lost Hope: Cutting Deficit

Once Again, Congress Is Likely to Write Its Own Budget

By David Hoffman

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has sent Congress a 1988 budget that offers no political resolution of the deficit crisis.

Instead, he presented another version of the fiscal plan he has submitted in recent years, all of which Congress has fundamentally revised.

With his political capital depleted by the Iran arms affair, and the clock running on the last quarter of his term, Mr. Reagan chose to submit a budget that protects his long-standing priorities of lower personal tax rates and a military buildup.

He acknowledged in his budget message that the deficit was a "major threat" to the economy, but his package to attack it is modest by past standards. This budget meets the deficit goal of \$108 billion specified by the budget-balancing law

enacted last year, but it does so largely by restructuring proposals killed by Congress before or by coming up with revenue-raising proposals criticized by outsiders as one-time gimmicks.

Last year, some Reagan policy makers anticipated that the president would use his immense political strength in 1987 to complete the unfinished business of his presidency: dealing with the tower of federal debt that threatens to become a lasting legacy of his years in office.

These officials said Monday, however, that such a final drive may now be beyond the president's reach.

"I'm not sure a great, huge fiscal fix is feasible anymore," said a senior administration official, recalling earlier attempts by Mr. Reagan and Congress to strike a deal over spending and taxes.

The official said, "I think we have a changed environment," in which Mr. Reagan is facing a Democratic-controlled Congress for the first time and is still mired in the Iran affair.

In the last two years, the president and Congress deadlocked over priorities. The outcome was that Congress made deep cuts in the president's military budget in order to reach the new budget law's targets. The deficit did begin to decline somewhat, but this cost the president dearly in terms of damage to his priorities.

Now Mr. Reagan appears to be setting up a repeat performance, in which Congress is again left to write its own proposal. The structural, or long-term, deficit probably will persist into the next president's term.

Dispirited congressional Republicans are likely to go their own way rather than follow the lead of the White House. Republicans in the House of Representatives may not even offer an alternative to the Democrats this year, congressional sources said.

"This budget is going to make Reagan look weaker, accelerate the lame-duckery," said a former White House budget economist, Lawrence A. Kudlow, now chief economist for Bear Stearns & Co. "In the past, there was always the view that Congress would have to come back to the White House and work out a deal. What strikes me is that Congress may not have to come back and work out a deal this time."

Speaking of the former and current directors of the White House Office of Management and Budget, Mr. Kudlow said: "If David Stockman couldn't get a majority of program cuts in 1985 after Reagan won 49 states, how is Jim Miller going to get even watered-down cuts in 1987 after a decisive Senate victory?"

See BUDGET, Page 2

NEWS ANALYSIS

Details of President Reagan's 1988 budget proposal. Page 3.

SOWETO SQUATTERS MOVE ON

A South African girl holds on to some of the belongings she was able to salvage from her family's shack in the Mshengville squatter camp before the Soweto Council police demolished it and about 50 others in the latest of the periodic sweeps through the squatters in the black township near Johannesburg.



SOWETO SQUATTERS MOVE ON — A South African girl holds on to some of the belongings she was able to salvage from her family's shack in the Mshengville squatter camp before the Soweto Council police demolished it and about 50 others in the latest of the periodic sweeps through the squatters in the black township near Johannesburg.

Syria Alawites: Underclass to Ruling Class

By John Kifner

QARDAHIA, Syria — From the coastal road below Latakia, a four-lane highway suddenly materializes, climbing up to this tiny mountain village, and then just as suddenly peters out.

The village is not much to look at: A single main street of low, stone shops on a rise in the rocky, barren hills. But near the only gas station there is an imposing abstract monument with a bas-relief of the flag of the ruling Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party thrust into a map of the Arab world with Syria at its heart.

A couple of blocks away, behind a high yellow wall, guarded by troops of an elite unit, stands the opulent palace of Qardahia's favorite son, President Hafez al-Assad.

A large communications disk is going up atop a new building, and all over these hills there is the flush of construction and prosper-

ty. For this is the Jebel el Ansariye, the mountain range that is the home of the Alawites, the once impoverished and despised minority sect that now rules this country with an iron hand.

"The old men on the street were bent over, toothless, their skin horribly wrinkled, with worn, shabby peasant clothes," said a Western diplomat, recalling a recent visit here. "Then you saw the young men, tall and strong from a good diet, wearing their uniforms, sharply tailored, chatting with the girls with the easy arrogance of power."

"There it was in a nutshell," he said. "From underclass to ruling class in a single generation."

In the Middle East, from the time of the Ottomans and before, government has been for the benefit of the governors. Ideological and class interests in this part of the world nearly

always have historical roots in religious differences. Even so, the tale of the Alawites of Syria is a remarkable success story.

The Alawites, between 11 and 13 percent of Syria's roughly 10 million people, are distinguished as a social class by their religious beliefs, regarded by orthodox Muslims as heretical.

The origins of the sect are lost in tribal history, but it clearly draws on both pagan traditions and Christian ritual as well as a heavy overlay of the Shiite branch of Islam.

The most important tenet of the Alawite faith is that Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed, is divine, God assuming a human form, somewhat along the lines of Jesus in Christianity. This is in direct conflict with the standard Muslim injunction that "there is no

See ALAWITE, Page 2

Senate Panel Rejects Helms, Naming Lugar Ranking Republican

The Associated Press
WASHINGTON — Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 7-0 Tuesday to name the outgoing chairman of the committee, Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, as the party's top-ranking committee member.

The committee members, voting as the 100th Congress convened, rejected a challenge by Jesse Helms of North Carolina for the position of ranking minority member. The person in that post is considered the spokesman for Senate Republicans on foreign policy issues.

A committee's ranking minority member also helps represent the Senate's bipartisan majority at White House meetings on foreign policy issues and controls selection of the minority party's staff.

Mr. Helms, who had contended that the post was his by right of seniority, did not appear for the vote. His name had not been placed in nomination.

The Republican rule for committees in effect since 1973 states that a chairman or ranking minority member "need not be the member with the longest consecutive service."

Mr. Lugar declined to characterize the vote as a rejection of Mr. Helms or his conservative beliefs. "I see it as a vote of support for the leadership I've given, a vote of confidence," Mr. Lugar said.

Later, Mr. Helms said he intended to pursue his challenge to Mr. Lugar before all the Republican senators. He said Tuesday's vote was not valid because it was taken before the 100th Congress officially convened and the committee therefore had not been duly constituted.

Mr. Helms was elected to the Senate in 1972. Mr. Lugar four years later. They were named to the Foreign Relations Committee on the same day in 1979.

The North Carolina senator could have taken the committee chairmanship two years ago, but decided against it, promising his constituents that he would remain chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. Mr. Helms now says that promise was a mistake because of his interest in making his mark on U.S. foreign policy.

The House of Representatives and the Senate, each facing a transition in leadership, convened at noon Tuesday. In the Senate, the Democrats, with their newly won majority of 55-45, and the Republicans met separately to iron out organizational details.

Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, the Senate's outgoing president pro tempore, passed his gavel to John C. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi. Mr. Thurmond, 84, and Mr. Stennis, 85, are the senior members of the Senate.

Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia resumed the post of majority leader, which he had held until the contests accompanying Ronald Reagan's 1980 landslide election put the Democrats into the minority. Bob Dole of Kansas became minority leader.

The House, as expected, elected Representative Jim Wright of Texas as speaker, overseeing the 258-177 Democratic majority. Mr. Wright replaces Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, who retired.

Representative Robert H. Michel of Illinois remains the House Republican leader. Thomas S. Foley of Washington succeeds Mr. Wright as Democratic leader.

U.S. Train Ran Stop Signal

The Associated Press
CHASE, Maryland — The three Conrail engines struck by an Amtrak passenger train in a collision that killed 13 persons ran through a stop signal seconds before the crash, officials investigating the railroad's worst accident said.

Joseph T. Nall, a member of the National Transportation Safety Board, said Monday that the Conrail engineer said he saw the stop signal about 500 feet (about 150 meters) from the site of Sunday afternoon's crash.

The engineer said he applied the brakes but it was too late to stop. The track switches were set to

AMERICAN TOPICS

'Reverse Peace Corps' Is Suggested for U.S.

Over the past quarter-century the Peace Corps has sent 120,000 volunteers to work in 93 underdeveloped countries. Now the corps is proposing a new twist: a "reverse Peace Corps" of Third World volunteers who would go to the United States to teach their native languages and work on development projects, the Los Angeles Times reports.

"The greatest thing we could have is this reverse Peace Corps, building these bonds, these partnerships for peace," said Loret Miller Ruppe, the Peace Corps director. Mrs. Ruppe, 51, is an heiress to the Miller brewing fortune and wife of Philip E. Ruppe, a former Republican congressman from Michigan.

Lewis Greenstein, a Peace Corps official, said that in the early 1970s volunteers from Nigeria, Jamaica and other countries worked on American Indian reservations and in hospitals. "But," he said, "it was qualified after one year, I am told, largely because of implications it seemed to carry about American culture. We didn't want to say we could benefit from Nigerian volunteers."

An aide to the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee said the idea "probably would be greeted pretty skeptically here, even by Peace Corps supporters, who are interested in using limited funds to increase the number of volunteers sent abroad."



SAFE AND SOUND — Mike Caruso Jr., 10, waved as he and his family left the Dallas/Fort Worth Airport Tuesday after Mike was freed by a gunman who held him captive for eight hours, demanding a flight to Egypt.

necessary to keep heart and lungs in good condition.

Heavy rains in the late autumn helped ease the effect of the South's worst drought in a century, The New York Times reports. But moisture levels remain well below normal in fields and pastures, with the start of spring planting less than three months off. So farmers are hoping for a rainier winter than usual. The Agriculture Department says the drought reduced tobacco production 10 percent, soybeans 15 percent, corn and peanuts 33 percent and hay 40 percent.

A record \$3.63 billion for a painting by a living artist was paid for a 1959 work by the American abstractionist Jasper Johns when "Out of the Window" was sold Nov. 10 at a New York auction. But Mr. Johns, who had sold the painting in 1960 for \$2,250, got not a cent of the proceeds. Senator

Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, is proposing a law that would allow artists to collect 7 percent of the profit on the resale of original works that experts agree have "recognized fine arts stature."

G. Gordon Liddy says he is developing a board game for Marva Industries of New York that pits East against West, totalitarianism against democracy. Mr. Liddy, 55, a sometime Watergate conspirator who now makes a living as a lecturer, says the Iran arms controversy should spur sales. Players on the democratic side have Congress and a free press, and these, Mr. Liddy says, can be liabilities when they don't keep secrets. "People know that the press is like the peculiar uncle you keep in the attic," Mr. Liddy said. "Just one of those unfortunate things. But Congress — they're supposed to be on our side."

—ARTHUR HIGBEE

Legal Battles On Fire Start In San Juan

By Kevin Klose
Washington Post Staffer

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — The first court papers have been filed in what is likely to become a protracted legal battle following the fire at the Dupont Plaza Hotel that killed 96 people on New Year's Eve.

"Reports are widespread that a multitude of attorneys" have landed in Puerto Rico or are headed here to press claims against the hotel, lawyers for the hotel said Monday in a petition filed in U.S. District Court here. They asked that access to the hotel be carefully controlled by a judge to ensure the integrity of evidence.

John Coale, a partner in Coale & Kananack, a law firm in Washington, D.C., specializing in damage claims suits, said he filed a motion on behalf of a client injured in the fire, the first step in a move to obtain a court order to have the evidence preserved.

Some of the most prominent negligence attorneys from the United States are in the commonwealth "for the long haul," as one of them said Monday. Many are longtime adversaries who have represented opposing sides in other disasters.

The family of Juan Rosario Torres, 63, who worked at the hotel, is seeking \$9 million in damages. The suit alleges that Mr. Torres suffered greatly before his death because of the "intentional, negligent and careless acts of the defendant."

The suit also accuses the hotel of "closing and sealing the casino doors and entrapping the deceased." Hotel officials have denied that the casino exits were locked at the time of the fire.

The suit names as defendant Hotel Systems International of Santa Monica, California, which attorneys for the plaintiffs said owns the San Juan Dupont Plaza Corp. of Delaware.

A second suit, seeking \$10 million in damages, was filed by José Aponte Rodríguez, also of Puerto Rico, who was in the casino when the fire broke out. Mr. Aponte had a concussion and his ankle was broken.

The suits contend the 20-story luxury hotel was negligent in failing to install fire-prevention measures.

Theory on Origin Cited
A federal investigator said it has been determined that the fire started after an arsonist ignited furniture stored in plastic wrapping "in the ballroom area." The New York Times reported Tuesday from San Juan.

UK companies 'have chance to sell to Japan' By Jane Martin in Tokyo A WALL and medium-sized British companies have a chance to sell to Japan.	PORTUGAL The Portuguese have a chance to sell to Japan.
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FINANCIAL TIMES
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U.S. Budget Details: Heavy on Weapons

New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — Following are highlights of the major programs in the budget that President Ronald Reagan submitted to Congress on Monday.

Military: The administration proposal of \$312 billion calls for heavy spending on nuclear weapons and missile defenses and cutting outlays for conventional warfare in seeking the smallest rise in military spending since Mr. Reagan took office.

Spending for the Strategic Defense Initiative missile defense system would grow from \$3.2 billion in 1987 to \$5.2 billion in 1988 and \$6.3 billion in 1989. Hundreds of millions of dollars more are spent on the program each year at the Energy Department.

The budget also proposes to rapidly increase spending for an anti-missile missile that under current law cannot be deployed or tested against objects in space. The budget for this research would more than double in 1988, to \$402 million. The first \$22 million for production of the weapon would be provided at the same time.

The budget proposes buying 21 MX missiles in each of the next two years, at a total cost of \$4.6 billion. It would also spend \$4.6 billion in the two years for research on the smaller, single-warhead Midgetman nuclear missile.

Research and production funds for two other long-range weapons are included in the budget, but the programs are classified and their costs are not disclosed. They are the stealth bomber, designed to evade radar, and an advanced nuclear cruise missile that incorporates stealth technology.

The budget proposes lowering the rates at which tanks, vehicles and helicopters are bought by the army. It cuts from 24 to 16 the number of ships being built in 1988 for the navy. And it abandons the air force's long-standing goal of deploying 40 tactical wings, setting for 37.

Foreign Affairs: The administration is seeking \$19.91 billion for the

international affairs account in the 1988 budget, \$15.3 billion of it for foreign aid. The total is \$3.3 billion more than Congress approved last year.

In addition, Mr. Reagan is asking for a supplemental appropriation of \$1.3 billion for the 1987 fiscal year to offset sharp congressional cuts.

The 1987 cutbacks meant that many of the United States' obligations to countries that allow U.S. military bases on their soil could not be met. The bulk of the \$1.3 billion in supplemental money is for meeting the obligations to countries such as Spain, Portugal, Turkey, the Philippines, Morocco, Oman, Kenya and Somalia.

Israel and Egypt, which together receive more than \$5.2 billion, have been untouched by the 1987 cuts, because Congress has written into law that they receive the amount specified.

The administration has requested \$105 million in military and humanitarian aid to rebels fighting the Nicaraguan government. Congress approved \$100 million in such aid for 1987. The State Department is in charge of coordinating the rebel aid policy, but the money is budgeted out of a special presidential fund.

Science: To get the space shuttle flying again, the administration has proposed a 12.7-percent increase in the budget for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which has said that it will resume flights in February 1988, two years after the Challenger explosion.

The NASA budget includes no funds for unmanned rockets, despite findings by several expert panels that the agency is too dependent on the shuttle system. The budget also calls for nearly \$767 million for work on the manned space station planned for deployment beginning in 1992.

The administration is calling for a 17-percent increase in the National Science Foundation budget, to \$1.9 billion, with emphasis on increasing money for university research.

Transportation: The administration proposes that the federal government "get out of the passenger rail business" by terminating all subsidies to Amtrak and by disposing of some or all of its assets.

Emphasizing programs "of a broad national interest," the overall transportation budget seeks an increase of almost \$1 billion, or 20 percent, for the Federal Aviation Administration, primarily for more air traffic controllers and support staff and for modernizing air traffic control systems.

The budget proposes a sharp reduction in the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, from \$3.4 billion in the current fiscal year to \$1.5 billion in the 1988 fiscal year. The proposal would eliminate operating assistance to cities with populations of more than 200,000.

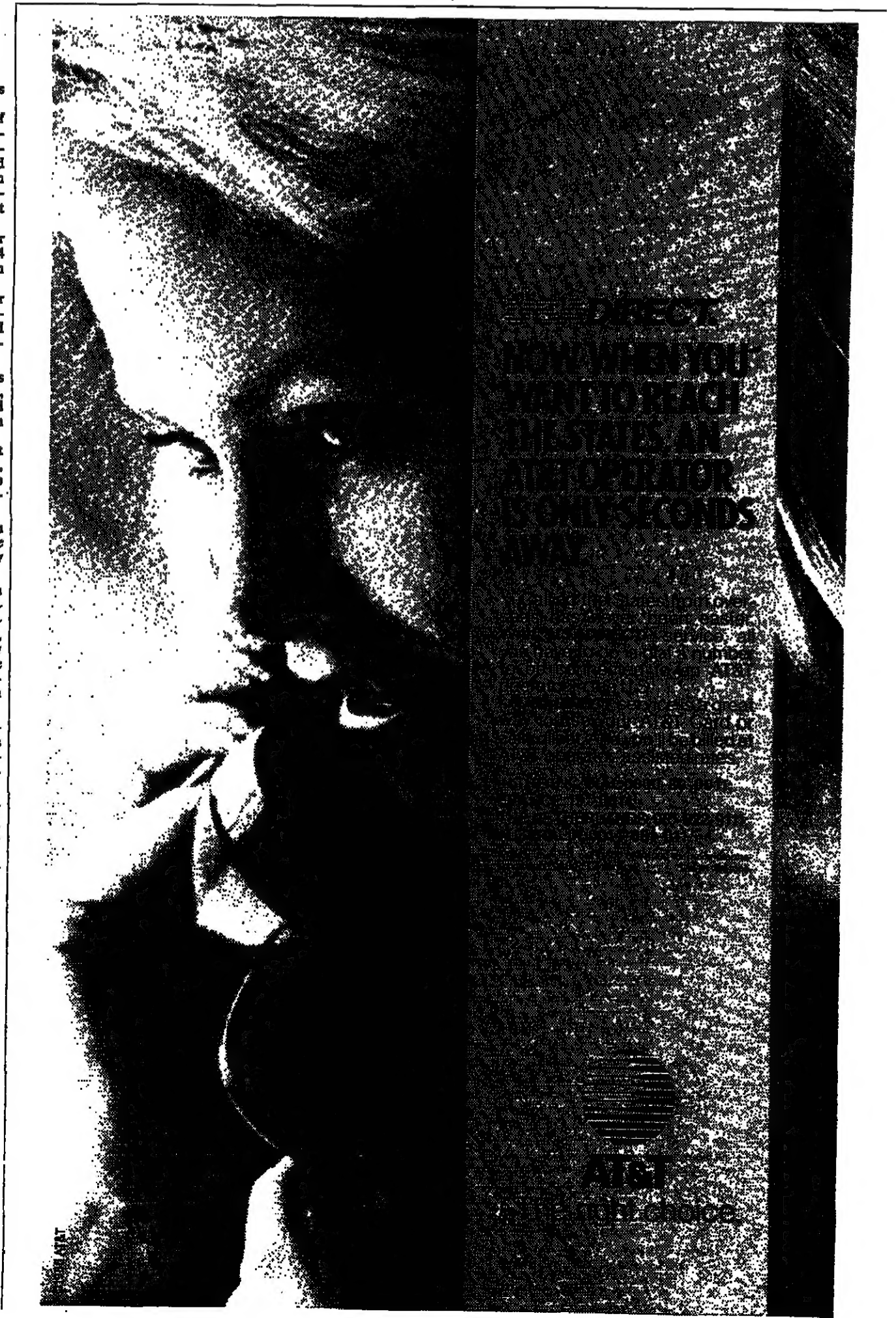
Human Services: A saving of \$7 billion is proposed in the Medicaid and Medicare programs. New beneficiaries of Medicare, the health program for those over 65 regardless of need, would have to pay insurance premiums accounting for 35 percent of the cost of coverage for doctors' services and out-of-hospital care, up from 25 percent.

The administration also proposes extending the Medicare payroll tax to three million people who are not covered because they are employees of state or local governments but who might benefit from Medicare because their spouses are enrolled. In addition, \$200 million would be saved by changing the reimbursement of doctors.

For Medicaid, the state-federal health plan for the poor, the budget proposes a cap on the federal share, limiting it to increases to cover inflation.

Included in the budget is provision for an increase of 3.5 percent in Social Security benefits in January 1988 to meet an expected cost-of-living rise.

The budget proposes \$286 million for the National Institutes of Health for research into acquired immune deficiency syndrome, far less than the \$2 billion a year that



Casey Getting Radiation Therapy

The Associated Press
WASHINGTON — William J. Casey, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, is having difficulty speaking, has weakness on one side of his body and is undergoing radiation therapy following surgery for a cancerous brain tumor, a hospital spokesman said Tuesday.

The hospital said he was "slowly improving."

The statement was the first official description by doctors at Georgetown University Hospital of the extent of the health problems of Mr. Casey since he was stricken at CIA headquarters Dec. 15 and underwent brain surgery three days later.

Mr. Casey, 73, is in stable condition and continuing to convalesce, a hospital spokesman said.

"Mr. Casey has been experiencing speech difficulties and right-sided weakness," she said. "Both of these functions have been slowly improving since the surgery."

"He has begun radiation therapy, which will continue for a number of weeks for treatment of his lymphoma," she said. No further statements will be issued while he is hospitalized, she said.

There have been continued reports that Mr. Casey was unlikely to return to his job.

The ABC television network said Monday night that among the chief contenders for Mr. Casey's post were Vernon A. Walters, the chief delegate to the United Nations, and two former Republican senators, Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, and John G. Tower of Texas.

The White House has repeatedly denied that a search for a successor is under way. Mr. Casey's deputy, Robert Gates, is now running the agency.

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Making Things Worse

President Pieter W. Botha is turning to South Africa's white electorate in a bid to reassert diminished authority and recoup political initiative lost in 1986, at home and abroad. He has announced that elections will be held for the all-white House of Assembly, the only one of the three racially segregated chambers of Parliament that matters. The election, which under the constitution could have waited until 1989, will probably be in April.

Last year was not a good one for Mr. Botha or for South Africa. There has been unprecedented violence. Black opposition, going far beyond any of the government's expectations, has made the huge black townships ungovernable. Repression and a clampdown on the foreign and domestic press have deepened Pretoria's isolation but failed to crowd the blacks. The U.S. Congress, overruling President Reagan's veto on sanctions, signaled a basic change in the mood of governments and public opinion in the West. Acceptance of the African National Congress has grown both inside South Africa and in Western countries. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe both have plans to confer with Oliver Tambo, the ANC leader, in the near future.

Mr. Botha may be right in assuming that his ruling National Party will emerge with an increased majority in the House of Assembly. But he knows that the parties of the hard-line Afrikaner right are on the move and that the pro-reform liberal

opposition is on the defensive. There is some reason to be suspicious, therefore, when he says the purpose of the election is to measure white attitudes toward racial reform. He must have a pretty good idea of what those attitudes are.

It is hard to see what good could come from this election. President Botha once seemed to have a policy for slow — too slow — reform of the system of apartheid, which he called "outdated" at the start of 1986. A few months later he shelved all plans for limited reform and opted for a policy of confrontation. Since then it has become increasingly clear that the issue in South Africa is no longer one of limited power sharing, with the white minority keeping its supremacy while giving up a small portion of its political and economic power to the black majority.

Black South Africans demonstrated in 1986 that they are no longer willing to accept less than majority rule. Radicalization of blacks has been matched by the emergence of a right-wing white backlash. Polarization can only be heightened by the electoral campaign and its aftermath. The only steps that could have relieved tension and pulled the country back from the brink of catastrophe — release of Nelson Mandela, lifting of the ban on the ANC and the start of talks between the latter and the government — have now even less chance of being taken. The rush toward all-out confrontation is apt to gather even more speed.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

If Not Now, When?

Cultural convergence: It is the proposition that, for all the Soviet-American hostility, the advance of technology and the complexity of modern civilization are steadily making the two nations more similar. The idea has superficial appeal given the emergence in Moscow of certain fashions in the shops, new briefings in the Foreign Ministry and hard rock in the arenas.

It is also evident, say what you will about evil empires and capitalist conspiracies, at the level of oratory. The New York Times recently published long passages from a remarkable talk last June to a group of Soviet writers by Mikhail Gorbachev. "The society is ripe for change," he said. "If we step away, the society will not agree to a return. The process must be made irreversible. If not us, then who? If not now, when?"

The thought struck some readers as fa-

miliar, perhaps even American. One of the Kennedys, maybe? Not exactly. The recent source is President Reagan, in his second inaugural address, just two years ago. He was talking then, as now, about the need to end decades of deficit spending.

"We've come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions. I have asked the cabinet and my staff a question, and now I put the same question to all of you. If not us, who? And if not now, when?"

That, however, is only the recent version. Questions like these have reverberated for 20 centuries, since Rabbi Hillel asked, "If I am not for myself, who is for me? If I care only for myself, what am I? If not now, when?" More than complexity or technology, there are grounds for convergence in those questions, all three of them.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reagan's Budget Poker

What is a federal budget: (a) a realistic blueprint from the president for spending and taxing; or (b) the beginning of a poker game with Congress over who gets the credit for spending and the blame for taxes?

The usual answer is both, but not this time. The 1986 budget, President Reagan's seventh, is such a pallid, temporizing version of (b) that it is hard to take seriously. The best that can be said about it is that, where it might have been belligerent, it makes modest concessions to the Democrats' new control of both houses of Congress. It is vintage Reagan, only less so.

After four years of modest growth, for which the president claims immediate credit, his is a sorry vision of what a prosperous nation should provide. He still wants to pump up Pentagon spending, but not so much. He still wants to raise taxes on the wealthy, but perhaps not quite so firm. He still wants to minimize government and reduce social spending, but maybe not so tenaciously. Most important, he insists he wants to reduce his huge deficit — but proposes no plausible political strategy to achieve that goal.

The president is probably correct in saying that the deficit is shrinking, but wrong in calculating how much. Only three months after Congress finished work on the 1987 budget, the deficit will be almost \$25 billion larger than previously thought.

Now, by assuming that the economy will grow faster than most forecasts, Mr. Reagan pretends his plan for fiscal 1988 would yield a smaller deficit than is likely. Moreover, he tenses in "savings" that he knows Congress will not accept. He may devoutly

wish to reduce farm subsidies or eliminate legal aid for the poor, but he also knows Congress has turned him down each year.

The detail of Mr. Reagan's plan is limited. The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law set a Jan. 5 deadline and he has complied only technically by submitting a summary. Particulars are to follow but there are some positive elements in what is known now. He does not propose increasing defense as much as in the past. He grapples at last with the spiraling costs of some major entitlement programs — farm subsidies, Medicare and Civil Service pensions. While he continues to insist, wrongly, that any "tax increase" is out of the question, he proposes to raise revenues by \$23 billion.

There are also some small signs of social concern: limited funding for the homeless; more money to retain displaced workers; increases for AIDS research and reducing infant mortality among the poor; hesitant steps against acid rain. But in many more ways, this budget would chip away at programs that help the disadvantaged, directly and through strapped municipalities. He blames the deficit for such stringency and brags of at last making headway to get the deficit down — without mentioning whose administration got it up.

This budget is Mr. Reagan's first communication with the new Congress. The language is carefully tempered; he seeks no confrontation, his spokesmen insist. But neither does he offer a plausible program. The budget is the president's time to lead, to take responsibility, to bet his poker hand. With this budget, Mr. Reagan says, I pass.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Comment

The Wars of One World

Two wars, Lebanon apart, have racked the Islamic world since the beginning of this decade, and only one shows signs of reaching its natural term. The arrival in Kabul of two senior Soviet politicians reinforces the cease-fire initiative announced by the country's nominal leader, Dr. Najibullah. In Iraq, meanwhile, they are negotiating as a famous victory one more episode in the to-and-fro of largely wasteful infantry attacks. Not the least difference between the two wars is that the one in Afghanistan is a serious embarrassment to a superpower; the bleeding wound, Mr. Gorbachev called it — and the other is one that both superpowers can contemplate with equanimity.

—The Guardian (London).

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OPINION



"Where did we go wrong?"

On Cue or Not, China's Students Start Something

By Merle Goldman

BOSTON — In reports about the student demonstrations in China, too little has been said of the restraint shown by the Communist Party. Given its tremendous power, China's one-party state could easily have nipped these demonstrations at the very beginning.

Even as party leaders harshly denounced the demonstrators, they allowed a protest for a more open nominating process to people's congresses to expand into a general demand for competitive elections and freedom of speech. The demonstrations spread for at least four weeks to major cities.

There are several reasons for the party's relative tolerance, including its desire to project a moderate image abroad, memories of the Cultural Revolution, a desire not to provoke another reign of terror by cracking down too harshly and, most important, the fact that the demonstrations serve the interests of certain factions at the top levels of political leadership in ongoing debates over reform.

Since the spring of 1986, the paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, and

his reform faction have called for political reforms to accompany economic changes. They argue that China's openness and economic development cannot be sustained unless the party decentralizes its power and reduces its role in economic management. Their attempt to gain acceptance of such a proposal at a Central Committee meeting in September was blocked by conservative leaders led by Chen Yun, the Politburo member and economic planner. The final resolution called for building socialist spiritual civilization rather than reforming the political system.

Yet the debate on political reform continues, and it encompasses more radical suggestions. Some intellectuals say political reform should not be merely a tool of economic reform. Others urge the party to lesson its role not only in the economy but also in the judiciary, the government and everyday life.

Although these recommendations and the student protests call for more far-reaching reforms than

the Deng leadership seeks, Mr. Deng and his reform group have been using the protests to exert pressure on top leaders for their more limited reforms. This is not the first time they have done this. In the late 1970s they led the so-called Democratic Movement, which used well-organized demonstrations to force out remaining Maoists in the central leadership and to launch their own economic program. When Mr. Deng's goals had been achieved, he cracked down on democratic activists.

A similar scenario may be unfolding today. To bring about limited political reform, the Deng leadership may have allowed student demonstrations to spread — before gradually suppressing the protests. If the demonstrators become too disruptive, the conservatives could use them as an excuse to call for an end to or even a reversal of previous reforms, as they tried to do in the "spiritual pollution" campaign in the fall of 1983.

While the top leaders may be able

to manipulate demonstrations for their own purposes, almost invariably the protests set in motion ideas and actions that the leadership cannot wholly control. In a similar fashion, Mao Zedong used the Red Guard demonstrations during the Cultural Revolution to purge the opposing political faction. His call "to rebel against authority" led to anarchy, which he finally suppressed with violence. But it also ultimately led to the Democratic Movement of the late 1970s.

Although Mr. Deng initially used the Democratic Movement for his own purposes, he, too, reined in the activists when they demanded more democratic rights than he was willing to allow. Yet their demands have stimulated the current debate on political reform. China's recent history suggests that demonstrations, manipulated to exert pressure on top leaders, spark ideas and practices that the manipulators cannot fully extinguish.

The writer, professor of Chinese history at Boston University, contributed this column to The New York Times.

Last-Ditch Remedies for an Ugly American Decade

By James A. Michener

CORAL GABLES, Florida — It looks as if the 1980s may be remembered as the ugly decade. We have witnessed in America a kind of general know-nothingness in which evading critical problems is a substitute for grappling with them, in which damage-controlling an error is better than avoiding it, in which sitting tall in the saddle is preferred to riding forward, and in which, amid the verbiage, certain essential freedoms and equalities of national life are diminished and eroded.

Notoriously, President Reagan's two administrations have produced a massive budget deficit which, if allowed to grow unchecked for two more years, would modify the national structure. I have watched three other nations — Germany, Japan and Brazil — incur so much debt that their only solution was to debase their currency, wipe out the debt and damage grievously the middle class. The very rich and the very poor are not seriously hurt, since the rich can afford to lose and the poor have nothing to lose. But the middle is crushed and sometimes never recovers.

Meanwhile, the fortunes of the poor, the minorities and students have suffered reverses so grievous that the United States is in danger of losing its reputation as a haven of freedom. It is becoming a society in which advantage is to the rich, disadvantage to the poor. Night after night I hear administration spokesmen reason that, since the Dow Jones average has risen another 10 points, all is well with the republic, ignoring the fact that oilmen in Louisiana are wallowing in bankruptcy and farmers in Iowa are losing their farms. As I listen I recall Oliver Goldsmith's reflection on his deserted village: "All forces the land, to bear the ills it pray."

When wealth accumulates, and men decay. During this decade, the accumulation of wealth has been defied. Ivan Bosky becomes the proto-

typical financier, and the takeover artist who can orchestrate a multimillion comp has become a more lauded hero than the manager of a corporation that is hiring people and making a usable product. The ugliness of the decade crops up everywhere. A former secretary of the interior, James Watt, denigrates America's national heritage of parks and open lands. Attorney General Edwin Meese strives to rewrite the constitutional part. Ultra-conservative religious forces are encouraged to run wild. The public school system, one of the reasons why America became a superior society, is threatened. Under the banner of protecting home and family, government invades the bedroom.

At this inopportune moment, the Reagan administration shoots itself in the foot with its handling of the Iranian hostage crisis, selling arms to a proclaimed enemy and illegally funneling the profits into the murky situation in Central America. There is disillusionment at home and scorn abroad. For the first time that I can recall in my work abroad, other nations laugh at Americans.

I hope things can be repaired. Since 1960, America has not treated presidents well. John Kennedy was murdered, Gerald Ford shot at twice, Lyndon Johnson ran out of office, Richard Nixon resigned, and if Ronald Reagan is emasculated, America will appear to the rest of the world as just one more banana republic. Mr. Reagan's unmatched popularity is an asset that must not be casually wasted. First, the president can stand before the people and say: "I allowed an error to occur. I have corrected it. And I won't let it happen again, for I obey the laws and traditions of this nation."

Second, he must return foreign policy to the

control of those best qualified to conduct it. Cowboys in the White House collar must be reined in. Third, he should disband his damage-control squad. If error is promptly admitted and rectified, no cleanup squad is needed.

Fourth, he must knock off the windy macho verbalisms. The United States faces serious problems. If in his next State of the Union message he claims that it is still standing tall or that it is once again respected throughout the world because of its victory in Grenada, Congress is going to wince and listeners abroad will guffaw. Further ridicule is something America cannot afford.

Fifth, he must let it be seen in all he does and says that he is a humane man who cares as much for the poor and the middle class as for the rich. Sixth, he should wrestle honestly with the deficit and not rely on ledgerdom. The government should raise taxes and cut spending. (But since Republicans refuse to do the former and Democrats are unable to do the latter, I suppose we will stagger along toward a major devaluation.)

Seventh, everything the Republican leadership does in the next two years, and all the behavior of the Democratic Congress, ought to point toward a smooth, responsible transition to the next administration. Last October it looked as if that administration would be Republican, but that party's decades make its victory less automatic.

The ugly decade is drawing to a close. I hope President Reagan can regroup his forces and end his spectacular incumbency in orderly fashion. But he can achieve this only if adversarial ends, only if sensible controls are established and only if the people are addressed in words of common sense.

This is adapted from comment contributed by Mr. Michener, the novelist, to The New York Times.

Let Politicians, Not Academicians, Run Foreign Policy

By John Kenneth Galbraith

WASHINGTON — It is not my tendency to come to the support of President Reagan. I am not, I imagine, commonly identified with such effort. I would, however, like to break with past practice and applaud his decision to have an investigation of the National Security Council and, more especially, the sound instinct that caused him to assign to the task two former members of Congress.

This investigation is not called for by recent developments alone; it is long overdue. I plead, accordingly, that it not be confined to the Iran-Iraq-Nicaragua disaster. No segment of the government over the last 25 or 30 years has had such a record of error verging on occasion on folly.

Some of that error has been the original inspiration of the Pentagon, the State Department and the CIA. A larger share has come from the foreign policy staff in the White House itself. And, in any case, it was and remains the responsibility of the president's advisers (as well, to be sure, as the president) to identify and arrest error. This they have not done; repeatedly it has remained for Congress and the press to expose unwise and profoundly damaging action.

The list of mistakes, all in retrospect now so recognized, is formidable — the U-2 flight before the Paris summit meeting; the Bay of Pigs; the pressure for a "marginal strike" at the time of the missile crisis; this one happily forestalled against his advisers' counsel by the president himself; the progressive and enduring tragedy of Vietnam; the secret bombing of Cambodia; the tragic, but also ludicrous, helicopter rescue adventure into Iran, which was a calamizing step in returning President Jimmy Carter to Plains, Georgia.

Latterly there have been the dispatch of the Marines to Lebanon, and now this Iran and contra foul-up, with numerous and bizarre aspects that, despite no slight effort to the contrary, are still coming to light. To compile the list is surely to show that something has been markedly wrong.

In these days much has been attributed to the unlearned activities of military personnel — Vice Admiral John Ponder and Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North — and to the take-home tendencies of Donald Regan, which left him, nonetheless, in ignorance of what was going on.

But my fellow academicians, the admitted foreign policy specialists, have not done better; by any conceivable measure of error, that in India-china in particular, they have done worse on a much larger scale.

Presumably the president needs national security advisers; there must be review and coordination of policies as these emerge from the several departments. What is the remedy? The remedy is to place foreign policy, as it is in all other democratic countries, in the hands of experienced politicians. From that experience will come a sense of what Congress and the public will accept.

Such individuals are also less likely to be attracted by the short-run charm of secret operations; they know from hard experience that in the United States nothing of any real interest ever remains secret.

They will communicate easily with their former colleagues in Congress, have their trust and — an important matter — have respect for the laws that emanated from the body of which they were once a part.

Above all, they will not have the sense of high foreign policy and military adventure that my scholarly friends and lately the military officers have too often brought to their task. Nothing better dulls that sense than tedious, experienced political service.

The use of members or former members of Congress will also help ensure a needed continuity in policy — the tuning down of what a foreign diplomat of my acquaintance has called the coup d'état that every four or eight years characterizes the shift from one presidency to the next.

The United States does not have a parliamentary system. Recruitment of top foreign policy personnel from Congress would institute one of that system's best features. To the extent possible, senior legislators should be persuaded to leave Congress to accept high foreign policy posts. To the extent this is not possible, the White House, as well as the foreign policy departments, should be a natural assignment for those who have ceased to serve on foreign policy on Capitol Hill.

The present disaster would not have occurred if Charles Percy or Howard Baker, both Republicans, had been in charge. If William Fulbright had been there, there would have been no Bay of Pigs. And he would have resisted the steady movement into the sinkhole of Vietnam.

In the past, John Sherman Cooper, Kenneth Keating and others have gone from Congress to be ambassadors. Better that they should have gone to the White House.

For six years Mike Mansfield has been serving the present administration in Japan. Does anyone doubt

that things would have been better had he, rather than Mr. Poindexter, been in the White House? President Jimmy Carter's drafting of Edmund Muskie after the earlier Iran disaster is a model for future action.

I am not suggesting indiscriminate recruiting from Capitol Hill. My enthusiasm for John Helms, and perhaps also Paul Laxalt, is restrained. What I do urge is that we put experienced politicians in charge of foreign policy, with the not surprising qualification that they should be the best.

The writer, an economist, professor emeritus at Harvard University and former ambassador to India, contributed this column to The Washington Post.

IN OUR PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1912: Arab Quandary

TRIPOLI — The Arabs of Tripoli, those near the coast-line at least, are between the hammer and the anvil. Most seem to realize that the Italians are here to stay, and it is practically certain that if they had the power of taking a decision they would come to terms with their new masters. The coast Arab refrains from making submission to the Italians because he dare not. His masters stand in the way. During their occupation, the Turks succeeded in inspiring the tribes with a respect for Turkish authority. If the Arab is to be won over to the Italian side, he must be defended. The Turks have given him protection but kept him short of food. The Italians have failed to give him protection and he cannot be blamed if he elects to go short of food rather than lose his life.

1937: No to a Blockade

LONDON — The British government turned thumbs down on French suggestions that an Anglo-French naval blockade of the Spanish coast be instituted to keep out foreign volunteers and gun runners and to let the Spaniards fight out the civil war in comparative privacy without letting it degenerate further into an all-European brawl. If the blockade would serve that purpose, Britain would be only too pleased to donate its navy to the good cause, it was indicated here. However, it is feared that a blockade attempted by any one, two or three powers might be less effective than provocative and might unwittingly bring on a wholesale war. Britain is so anxious to prevent. Britain has not ruled out the blockade idea as a possibility in the near future if the Spanish situation does not improve.

50th Anniversary

OPINION

Right, a Pretty Good Job; Please Read This Column

By A.M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — The day the paper carried a story saying that I was moving out as executive editor and that I would write a column, a carpenter was putting in some bookshelves for me and I asked what kind of a column. Well, about lots of things, I said, foreign affairs certainly, but also the country and city and people who were interesting, including him and me and whatever was on my mind that conceivably would interest some other minds.

Some traveling?
Yes, I said, as a matter of fact I think I will go to the Middle East right away. No, maybe Chile would be better now.

There are, blessedly, Shcharansky and some journalists who cry "wait, wait" to the world.

He looked at me, grimed, and we both said it: "Pretty good job."

I understand the duty of a columnist to give the world guidance and I solemnly accept that obligation. In due time — maybe even later this week, I don't want to shirk — I will be laying out some pretty pithy instructions to the citizenry and government. The underlying assumption, of course, is that they will be carried out to the letter, otherwise no fair. But I figure I am entitled to at least one column about things where I wouldn't mind a bit of guidance myself.

For instance, I would love to know who is handling Soviet public relations, because if it is on the exchange I would buy a little stock. Mikhail Gorbachev is certainly a far smoother chap than most of his predecessors, but he has not touched the total police nature of the Soviet state and not even hinted he will.

How could he? He is part of it and rules through it. But every time he says that he will let a long-suppressed book be published or allow a private citizen to own a pushcart, or releases one of his ample supply of prisoners, the West goes into a mad frenzy of appreciation.

There are, blessedly, Shcharansky and some journalists who cry "wait, wait" to the world, but they are outnumbered by the eager folk who clap their hands and sing praise. Myself, I will wait until Mr. Gorbachev arrests and tries the man who said Anatoli Shcharansky to jail and Andrei Sakharov into exile, time enough then to clap and sing.

Something else I don't understand: A.M. Rosenthal's opinion column, of which this is the first, will be appearing in this space. Mr. Rosenthal is a special editor of The New York Times. He was executive editor from 1977 until last November.

Why don't they know in Washington that the way things in South Korea are going, there will be a revolution within two years. The military government there will use heavy American arms to kill it. We will be identified with the tyrant again and unless we do something to show now, right away, that we stand for political democracy in a country whose rulers are totally dependent on America militarily, we will reap in plenty the hate we are sowing.

A Middle East wonderment: When will an Arab leader say publicly what so many say in private — that the only answer to the heartbreak of Palestine exists already but is too dangerous to mention out loud. Of course he will have to make sure in advance that the PLO knows that to kill him will mean its immediate annihilation by the Arab allies. The answer is a political and historical equation that Arab and Israeli leaders know in heart: Jordan plus negotiated chunks of the West Bank plus internationalized Jerusalem shrines equal the Palestine homeland. Israel will accept after internal anguish because a bounded Kingdom of Jordan-Palestine is better than generations of battle against unbounded hatred.

At home, I do not understand why all the people on Wall Street are not scared to death. The gap between what business thinks is acceptable and the ethical standards we were taught in civics classes is becoming so very large that in a short time the people of the country will turn in wrath. Then a rather dangerous populist wrath will not only wipe out greenmail and shoddy leverages but a lot of the rest of Wall Street with them.

And I wish somebody could tell me what to do in my own city when I walk in the street and run into a test of soul I thought I had left behind me in Calcutta.

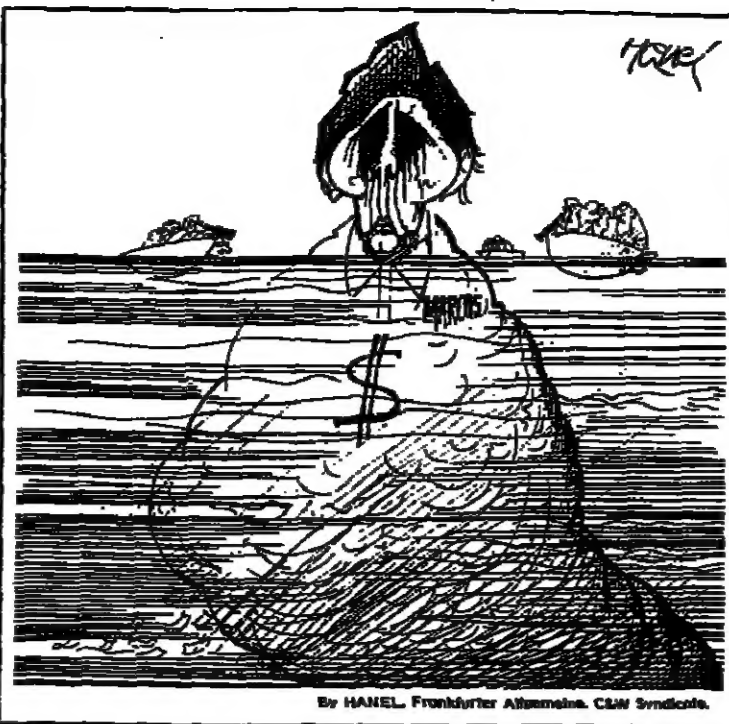
I see a body in the street, still but probably alive. Do I walk around it as I did in Calcutta? There I felt scared for stepping around a living body. In New York I feel anger — at the city, the body, Shame did not help. Will anger be more use?

Of course I am not all that puzzled, but just putting down a few things that are on my mind at the moment and that I intend to get back to.

Oh, and one little personal note. When I was born, my mother really did not cry out "Harry, let's call him A.M." The initials and dots in my name were put there long ago by an editor who gave me my first byline but thought my first name was not quite, or maybe too quite. My name is Abraham, as in Abe.

And as I was riding from a chat with the president — Mikhail, not Pinochet this time — I thought of that carpenter and nodded to myself companionably: right, pretty good job. Then I flew off to talk things over with a most unusual young sultan in his palace by the sea.

The New York Times.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why Not Yellow Ribbons?

Regarding "Against the Yellow Ribbon Syndrome" (Dec. 2) by Mike Royko:

Mr. Royko fails to reason that expatriates are here, or elsewhere, because they are needed. Would he sever diplomatic relations? Does he advocate the removal of all foreign military installations? Of the foreign educators, religious orders, volunteer agencies and the businessmen who are the slim hope of better economies in many countries?

I assume that the old lady Mr. Royko mentions, who was mugged in her Chicago kitchen, at least had the sterling assistance of the Chicago police force. We who live abroad may not have the privilege of such expertise.

We are merely Americans doing our jobs. God forbid that we disturb the tranquillity of Mr. Royko — or of Mark Heller, the Cornell professor he quotes

as proposing that the United States stop assuming responsibility for expatriates taken hostage — with the misfortune of our being kidnapped.

SANDRA LASKEY, Manila.

As a Chicagoan, I have always enjoyed Mike Royko's columns. However, his recent one, "Against the Yellow Ribbon Syndrome" (Dec. 2), provoked a disturbing letter from Peter Adams (Dec. 12). Mr. Adams's statement that people "who insist on going to trouble spots for private reasons get what they deserve" recalls an incident that deserves to be related.

In April, a rally was held at the University of California at Santa Cruz to protest the Reagan administration's rash decision to bomb Libya. Following the bombing, two British nationals and an American, Peter Kilburn, were killed

The Engineers Are Tinkering With Cicero

By Taft H. Broome Jr.

This is the first of two articles.

WASHINGTON — Until now, engineers would have been judged wicked or demented if they were discovered blatantly ignoring the ancient imperative of the philosopher Cicero: In whatever you build, "the safety of the public shall be the highest law."

Today, however, Three Mile Island, Bhopal, the shuttle Challenger, Chernobyl and other technological horror stories tell of a cancer growing on our values. These engineering disasters are the results of willful actions, yet these actions are generally not seen by engineers as morally wrong. They are judged to be ordinary. And some engineers now espouse a morality that rejects the idea that they have as their prime responsibility the maintenance of public safety.

What is this new morality of engineering? Can it be justified morally? If not, has modern culture become a sort of technological Sodom and Gomorrah, with no one protecting the public?

Debate on this issue rages in the literature, in the courts and in conversations among America's 1.3 million engineers.

The debate is largely over four moral codes: Cicero's stipulation of public welfare as the paramount value, and three rival points of view.

The most defensible moral position in opposition to Cicero is based on revolutionary ideas about what engineering is. It assumes that engineering is always an experiment involving the public as human subjects. It suggests that engineering

MEANWHILE

ing decisions are always made with insufficient scientific information.

In this new view, the risks taken by people who depend on engineers are not merely risks over some error of scientific principle. More important, and inevitable, is the risk that the engineer, confronted with a novel technological problem, will incoherently judge which precedent that worked in the past can be successfully applied this time.

These moral ideas go to the heart of understanding how we arrived at the technology that surrounds us.

Most of the codes of ethics adopted by engineering professional societies agree with Cicero that the engineer shall hold paramount the safety of the public. But undermining this is the conviction of virtually every engineer that risk-free engineering can never be achieved. So public safety can never be guaranteed.

A noteworthy exception to engineers' reverence for Cicero's code is that of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, the largest of the engineering professional societies in America. Its code includes Cicero's, but adds three other imperatives opposing him, without giving a way to resolve conflicts between these four paths.

The first imperative challenging Cicero's approach is called the "contractarian" code. Its advocates note that contracts on paper exist between engineers and their employers or clients. They deny that any contract exists, implied or explicit, between them and the public.

The first principle for adherents of the contractarian code is the honoring of "real" contracts, leaving the safety of the public to their employers, or clients. When engineers fit the Ford Pinto's gas tank with insufficient protection to survive rear-end collisions, or when engineers at Chernobyl adhered to specifications for the plant that did not include a containment structure to keep radiation from spreading in case of an accident, or when Morton Thiokol engineers reported the O-ring defect to their superiors rather than to the astronauts, deference was given to the contract imperative, rather than to the public safety.

But the contractarian imperative is flawed by two contradictory sentiments. The first denies outright that the problems with modern technology are the responsibilities of engineers. In his 1976 book "The Existential Pleasures of

Engineering," Samuel Florman suggests that the responsibility lies with the public. It is they, he argues, who "commissioned engineers to invent" technology.

The other sentiment is that engineers, as professionals who alone possess the highest degree of expertise for controlling technology, are subject to a Nuremberg-like principle: Regardless of what one's contracts with employers or clients may stipulate, or what public law may say, professionals are personally responsible for the effects their practices have on public health and welfare.

This leads to the second moral position in opposition to Cicero's position: the "personal judgment" imperative. Its advocates hold that in a free society the interests of business and government are always compatible with, or do not conflict with, the public interest.

There is only the illusion of such conflicts. They argue, owing to the efforts of self-interest groups; or of the business or government persons who act unlawfully in their own interests without the knowledge and consent of business or government; or of reactionaries impassioned by the loss of loved ones or property due to business-related accidents.

The central question for "personal judgment" adherents is: In what measure shall the interests of the public, business and government be served? Shall engineering profit always secure business profits? In the case of the Ford Pinto, that would mean that business would be allowed to avenge for its technological mistakes with lawsuit payoffs — payoffs which may not be severe enough to discourage incompetent engineering.

To deal with these questions, "personal judgment" advocates urge engineers to achieve balance in the degrees to which their service satisfies these various interests. They say this can be accomplished by an engineer using common sense founded on traditional values such as honesty, integrity and fair play.

Undermining this imperative is the absence of a formula for distinguishing good balances from bad ones.

The third rival to Cicero-style morality follows from new ideas about the basic nature of engineering. These ideas are lethal to Cicero's agenda. For this approach has a correct premise: Engineering is neither an applied science nor any other kind of science.

The writer is director of the Large Space Structures Institute at Howard University and chairman of the ethics committee of the American Association of Engineering Societies. He contributed this column to The Washington Post.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

General News

Kenya Is Moving to Increase Moi's Power

By Sheila Rule

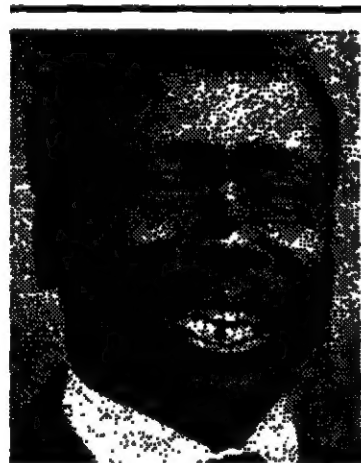
NAIROBI — The Kenyan authorities have been placing more and more power in the hands of President Daniel arap Moi and the nation's sole political party, and some church leaders and other critics are warning that such steps border on totalitarianism in a country that professes to be a democracy.

The Parliament of Kenya, a pro-Western nation that has long stood as a symbol of relative stability in Africa, unanimously approved a constitutional amendment last week that stripped the security of tenure from the powerful posts of attorney general and auditor general. The attorney general is the country's chief legal officer, and the auditor general oversees its accounts.

Tenure had been provided to protect the officeholders from political pressure. Mr. Moi's power has grown steadily in the last four years, now has the legal power to dissolve them.

One member of Parliament was barred from taking part in the final vote on the bill after he spoke openly against the change and refused to withdraw a remark that members had been subjected to intimidation in the current session.

The bill was passed after a public debate over whether Parliament or the ruling party held supreme power. Mr. Moi, whose government, like many others in Africa, is hor-



Daniel arap Moi

The Catholic bishops said that "already the party is assuming a totalitarian role. It claims to speak for the people and yet does not allow the people to give their views."

tle to political dissent, tried to end the debate by declaring that the party was more powerful than any other institution in the Kenya, including Parliament and the courts.

"As president of the party," said Mr. Moi, whose pronouncements normally have the force of law, "I appoint high court judges, provincial commissioners, district commissioners, the vice president and others. The party is supreme."

But Roman Catholic bishops in the country said in a letter to Mr. Moi that these recent moves could cause instability in Kenya, whose government has undertaken in recent months the harshest crackdown on political dissent since a failed coup in 1982.

Some Kenyans and foreigners view the bishops' letter as heightening tensions between state and church. The president and his supporters have accused church leaders of intruding into politics.

The bishops, who represent about three million Catholics in Kenya, a nation of 20 million people, said they were "conscious of a certain inadequacy of dialogue in the country," and they called for discussions at all levels of society to determine the will of the people.

The influential Law Society of Kenya and the National Christian Council of Kenya, representing about six million Protestants, also publicly criticized the amendment as a trend toward the erosion of democracy.

Kenyan critics of the government assert that hundreds have been detained in Mr. Moi's drive to root out the dissidents and that the authorities have been guilty of detentions without trial, sentencing defendants to prison without access to legal counsel, holding people without saying that they were in custody and torturing prisoners.

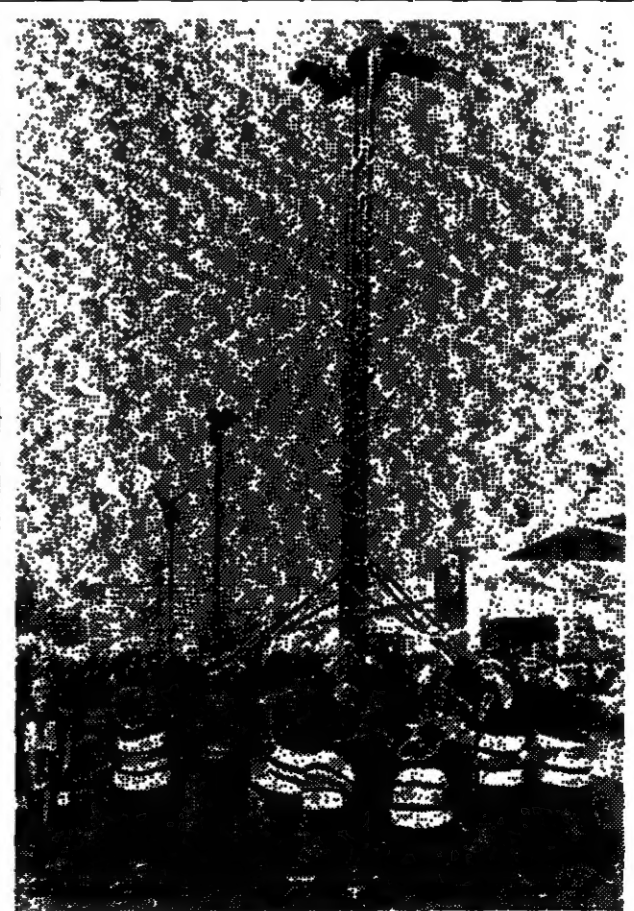
They voiced concern over assertions that the power of the party was paramount and that those who thought otherwise were considered disloyal.

"At present," the bishops said, "discussion is precluded by the allegations of powerful party officials that any questioning of the system is tantamount to disloyalty. Already the party is assuming a totalitarian role. It claims to speak for the people and yet does not allow the people to give their views."

"We see the Constitution as a guarantee of peace and stability. We are alarmed at calls from politicians to change the Constitution and at the ease with which this can be effected. We are not constitutional lawyers, but we instinctively fear that any suggestions that the Constitution is easily changed will lead to instability."

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FLYING FIREFIGHTERS — Japanese firemen in traditional dress performed Tuesday on bamboo ladders during the New Year's review of Tokyo's Fire Brigades.

Lagos Editor's Death Embarrasses Leaders, Sets Rumors Swirling

By James Brooke

LAGOS — The killing of a Nigerian editor more than two months ago has become a major embarrassment for the government of President Ibrahim Babangida.

Mourning a man most of them never met, thousands of Nigerians have flooded the office of Newsweek, Nigeria's largest news magazine, with letters mourning the death of Dele Giwa.

Mr. Giwa, the magazine's 39-year-old editor, was killed Oct. 19 by a powerful package bomb sent to his home. In a nation generally regarded to have black Africa's freest and most diverse press, the killing has grown into a political liability for General Babangida.

The incident has cast a shadow over Nigeria's generally clean human rights image. "The government has got to get this monkey off their back," one diplomat said. It is generally agreed that Mr. Giwa's combative style of journalism, learned in eight years spent in New York, proved too peppery for someone in Nigeria. But with no suspects in jail and the police working in secrecy, Nigerians have become sleuths in a national whodunit.

Some suspect Nigeria's military intelligence agency, the State Security Service. Two days before his death, Mr. Giwa was called in by the intelligence agency for the fourth time in a year to answer questions about his coverage of sensitive political topics.

Others point to Mr. Giwa's exposure of corrupt Nigerian businessmen and drug dealers who have turned Lagos into a transit point for heroin to the West.

And others, noting that this is the first parcel-bomb killing in memory in Lagos, look with suspicion on a group of Israeli security experts who train and advise Nigeria's presidential guard.

Although Mr. Giwa's killing remains unsolved, it is clear that Nigeria has suffered a trauma deep enough to cross the tribal and geographic divisions of the fractious nation of 100 million people.

"The entire country was stunned," they are getting thousands of letters from all over Nigeria," said Ray Ekpu, the new editor in chief, as he sat in the office he inherited from Mr. Giwa.

Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian playwright who recently won the Nobel Prize in Literature, set up a national reward fund to try to find the killers.

On Nov. 8, the day of Mr. Giwa's funeral, all Nigerian newspapers came out with black mastheads. It was the first such tribute since 1976, when the president, General Murtala Ramat Muhammed, was assassinated.

Nigeria's grief over Mr. Giwa's death seems spurred in part by the editor's manly identification with the editor. Mr. Giwa's father was a laundress who paid his son's school fees by washing the clothes of teachers at Odundun College in Ife, about 140 miles (225 kilometers) northeast of Lagos, where the younger Mr. Giwa was editor of the school newspaper.

Mr. Giwa traveled to New York in 1971, supporting himself by working in a plastics factory and by driving taxis. In his free time, he earned a degree in English from Brooklyn College.

He later earned a master's degree in public communications from Fordham University and worked as a news clerk for The New York Times.

In 1979, Mr. Giwa returned to Nigeria to work as a newspaper editor.

Mr. Giwa's independent and abrasive style as editor of The Sunday Concord landed him in jail for two weeks in 1983, when Nigeria was under civilian rule. Two years ago, when a foreign-exchange shortage limited the imports of Time and Newsweek magazines, Mr. Giwa and Mr. Ekpu launched a home-grown version, News-watch.

The magazine grew to have an estimated circulation of 50,000, one of the largest in Africa. Acerbic reporting increased sales. Two weeks before Mr. Giwa's death, the News-watch cover story was titled: "Nigeria — Why Nothing Works."

Two months after Mr. Giwa's funeral, Mr. Ekpu said, police investigations are "just moving in circles."

Meanwhile, Lagos newspapers continue a low-key campaign: In odd corners of their pages are little boxes that read, "Who Killed Dele Giwa?"

Paris Ponders How to Respond in Chad

By Edward Cody

PARIS — The French government is facing a new challenge in Chad following the recent attack by Libyan MiG-23 fighter-bombers on a settlement in territory declared off limits by France.

French officials have said that President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac are weighing an "appropriate response" to the bombing Sunday of Amida, a central Chad town controlled by President Hissene Habre with French military and political protection.

But French officials have sought to discourage speculation that an immediate bombing of Libyan targets in Chad or Libya was likely "in the heat of the moment."

Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond of France, explaining the role of French forces stationed in Chad, said recently that they would respond to any Libyan attack in the territory south of the 16th parallel that roughly cuts the country in

half. Libya and Chadian rebels control the area to the north. France has a detachment of planes in Chad. But France did not seek to intercept the Libyan MiGs that attacked Sunday.

A communiqué from the Libyan People's Bureau in Paris said Tuesday that "if Libyan forces had to cross the 16th parallel, it was an exceptional act of retaliation which will not happen again, except in case of further aggression." Agency France-Press reported from Paris. Libya had previously denied carrying out any bombing raid.

French officials said four of Libya's Soviet-made MiG-23 jets carried out the bombing at about 2 P.M. Sunday. The attack killed one person and wounded four, all Chadians, they said.

Another town south of the 16th parallel, Oum Chaloub, was hit by a bomb at the same time. Chadian officials told reporters in the capital, Ndjameña, that this incident, apparently was caused by one of the same four planes releasing a

bomb on its way back to a Libyan base in the north.

This was considered significant because Oum Chaloub is near Kalaï, a Chadian base where French troops helped set up a supply base for Chadian forces involved in the Fada attack Friday.

A communiqué issued by the government in Ndjameña said taking Fada was the first step toward recovering the rest of northern Chad from the control of Libyan troops and Chadian rebels allied with Colonel Mouammar Gadhafi, the Libyan leader.

Although the French government has vowed to keep its forces south of the 16th parallel, French military assistance was believed essential to Mr. Habre's advance northward last week.

In an interview with the Paris newspaper Liberation, Colonel Gadhafi on Monday denied reports that the main rebel leader, Goukouni Oueddei, was put under house arrest in Tripoli, the Libyan capital. The Chadian rebel leader

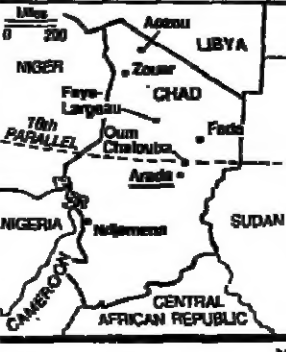
dropped out of sight because he had an operation for appendicitis "or something like this," Colonel Gadhafi told the interviewer.

Colonel Gadhafi also said he had sent "a few hundred" soldiers to northern Chad to rescue a group of technicians he said were held prisoner there. Until now, Colonel Gadhafi had denied that Libyan troops are in the country.

Chad announced Tuesday that violent clashes broke out in the north Monday between government forces and Libyan troops, Reuters reported from Ndjameña.

A statement from Chad's military high command read at an anti-Libya demonstration in Ndjameña said the fighting broke out between the towns of Bardai and Zouar, in the Tibesti mountains of northwestern Chad.

It described the clashes between Libyan soldiers and the Chadian Army as violent but gave no details



Margaret Laurence, 60, a Canadian Novelist, Is Dead

The Associated Press

TORONTO — Margaret Laurence, 60, a novelist who influenced Canadian literature for a quarter of a century, died Monday of cancer.

Mrs. Laurence lived in Africa for seven years in the 1950s and wrote a travel book, a novel and short stories based on her experience there.

"The Stone Angel," in 1964, became the first in a cycle of five novels called the Manawaka novels. "A Jest of God," "The Fire-Dwellers," "A Bird in the House" and "The Diviners" followed.

On Monday, the Canadian Army announced that it had shot down a Libyan MiG-23 jet over the Saharan oasis town of Fada in northeastern Chad. The announcement, broadcast over the Chad radio, provided no details on how the MiG-23 was shot down. Chadian forces are equipped with anti-aircraft missiles.

There was no independent confirmation of the fighting and it was the first time Mr. Habre's men have been reported so far north.

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ARTS / LEISURE

The Dance Legacy Of Serge Lifar

By Anna Kisselgoff

WHEN Serge Lifar was first introduced to the dancers in the Paris Opéra Ballet in 1929, their attitude toward the new Russian guest star from Diaghilev's recently disbanded Ballet Russes was decidedly hostile. Within a few hours of rehearsal, however, their future director already felt at home. Looking back later upon his relationship with the company, Lifar saw himself as "a sort of happy shepherd."

Lifar's flock, in fact, remained unusually loyal during the nearly 30 years he reigned as head of the Paris Opéra Ballet. A controversial figure whose self-advertising personality may have hindered a balanced appreciation of his achievements, Lifar has been easily scorned by British and American critics who, unlike the French — have not seen the majority of his ballets. In most cases, they did not see Lifar at his dancing peak.

His death in Lausanne on Dec. 15 at the age of 81 is a reminder again that Lifar's career — with all its contradictions — needs to be placed in perspective. Universally dubbed one of ballet's greatest egotists (even by his admirers), he has also been recognized (even by his detractors) as the major figure in the renewal of 20th-century French ballet. Yet, perhaps in the long run he will and should be remembered for ideas and actions that were forerunners of many premises we now take for granted in dance.

Born on April 2, 1905, in Kiev, the son of a civil servant, Lifar began studying ballet at the age of 16. A friend took him to the private school of Bronislava Nijinska in the Ukrainian capital. Nijinska rejected him, but he managed to get into the classes she taught in the state-run Central Studio of the Kiev Opera Ballet, which she then directed.

When Nijinska rejoined Diaghilev's company in 1921 and sent for five of her best male pupils from Kiev, Lifar substituted himself for one who had dropped out. As a dancer and, later, budding choreographer in the Ballet Russes from 1923 until Diaghilev's death in 1929, he was clearly the impresario's favorite. Diaghilev sent him to study with Enrico Cecchetti in Turin to make up for his lack of classical training.

Despite his late start, Lifar had an unsalable stage presence. In a company that was totally experimental, he was perfect material. Nowhere was this more evident than in the young George Balanchine's ballets. Beginning with "Barabau" (1925), a comic ballet to a song cantata in which Lifar was a police sergeant chasing an Italian peasant, he was cast in most of Balanchine's ballets. This historical fact was recalled by Balanchine many times in recent years whenever he was accused of not having created major roles for men during his career. The premiere of "Apollo" and "The Prodigious Son," of course, featured Lifar in the title role.

Lifar also danced in the numbers Balanchine created for Charles B. Cochran's revue in London in 1930. A year earlier, however, Lifar had been invited to dance in the Paris Opéra Ballet's version of Beethoven's "The Creatures of Prometheus." Balanchine, the original choreographer, fell ill, and Lifar took over the choreography. In 1931, at the invitation of Jacques Rouché, the Opéra's director, Lifar officially became ballet master and dancer. He was director until 1945, when charges of collaboration with the Germans — not helped by his own boasts of high connections with German authorities — caused him to leave and become director of the Nouveau Ballet de Monte Carlo. Cleared but given a year's suspension, he returned as director of the Paris Opéra Ballet in 1947. The condition was that he not dance on stage, given postwar feelings. In 1949, he danced again, and his last performance at the Opéra was as Albrecht in "Giselle" in 1956. He resigned as director in 1958.

No factual account can quite convey the passions Lifar engendered. These were rooted in his artistic ideas, not merely in his well-publicized escapades nor on his penchant for creating roles for himself.

But it was his serious side that caused the deepest controversy. He held high the banner of neoclassicism in ballet and campaigned to make choreography an independent art. In the age of Balanchine, this is a familiar aesthetic. But it must be remembered that Lifar publicized this viewpoint in the 1930s, when it was far from accepted.

In retrospect, the ideas of Lifar, Nijinska and Balanchine are remarkably close. The academic idiom was a springboard for innovation. Dancing was to be the prime element in ballet. Early on, Lifar recognized Nijinska's insistence on the autonomy of ballet technique — that its formal values had their own meaning.

Lifar publicly went further. Dance, as an independent art, could exist without music, he proclaimed in a manifesto in 1935, as much as 15 years before modern dancers, including Merce Cunningham, came to the same conclusion. Lifar realized these ideas in "Icare" (1935), his most famous ballet. He choreographed the work to no music — only a percussion score based on his rhythmic counts.

Lifar also added what he called the sixth and seventh positions to ballet's five basic foot positions. In the sixth, the feet were parallel — Lifar often gave his ballerinas plies on toe in this position. In the seventh position, one foot was behind the other in single file. We saw it in the archaic profile with shoulder held forward in the Paris Opéra Ballet's revival of "Les Mirages," seen in New York last year.

Lifar's choreography — the execution of his ideas — did not receive universal recognition. In part this was because, unlike Balanchine and Nijinska, he insisted on dancing and choreographing often to his own capabilities. More important, he had never acquired the full lexicon of classical training they had received in St. Petersburg. Whether he had the requisite genius is another issue.

Nonetheless, the seriousness of his endeavor should not be questioned. One has only to recall the decadent image of the Paris Opéra Ballet when he took over. He battled with the concept of the Opéra "as a drawing room" where people came to socialize, and he sought to make ballet more than trivial entertainment. His first order was that the house chandeliers be extinguished during performances. Male dancers were ordered to shave off mustaches, ballerinas forbidden to wear personal jewelry on stage. He ended the practice of using the infamous Foyer de la Danse as meeting ground between ballet girls and admirers. He inaugurated a full evening of ballet every Wednesday, along with "ballet minutes."



Lifar in "Icare," staged for the Paris Opéra Ballet, 1935.

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By all accounts, he was charismatic as a

young dancer. His dark exotic looks and athletic body gave him an animal intensity. A child's-eye view is unreliable, but in 1949, on a trip to Paris, I saw his portly but still dramatic presence dominate the stage in "Icare." The image remains.

In 1985, I saw the Ballet de Nancy perform his "Phédre," with its libretto and décor by Jean Cocteau. Alternately broken-lined and academic, the choreography needed better dancers, but the ballet's conception was fascinating. Lifar's major neoclassical ballet — different from his mostly allegorical works — is "Suite en Blanc," to be performed in May by the Opéra's école de danse.

During the 1979 Bourmouville Festival in Copenhagen, I found myself sitting next to Lifar and then met him again in 1982 at Gilbert Courmand's Galerie de la Danse in Paris. Somewhat bitter, he expressed concern that he would be forgotten. History, however, will make a place for Lifar as a serious contributor to 20th-century ballet — one who did things his way.

Ibsen's Grim Last Laugh

By Robert Cushman

LONDON — More than any other story through progressive revelation of the past: all very gripping the first time you see it and all very wearying thereafter. Nor are Ibsen's once-shocking ideas enough in themselves to hold us, though his defense of the questioning and independent spirit against the dead hand of received authority grows more pertinent daily. What we need is revelation of character. We want to see people not just cleverly revealing their past but growing in front of us in the present.

In the production at Wyndham's, Vanessa Redgrave as Mrs. Alving travels further than any actress I have seen in the role. She shows us a woman who has all the intelligence and resourcefulness in the world, but still has to learn how to use them. Her education consists of shedding the illusions that the respectable world calls ideals. Love for her drunken husband died long before he did. Pastor Manders, the man she has always wanted, backs away from her. Her enlightened ideas themselves prove to be illusory. We leave her facing the last taboo as her son lies helpless in the grip of the syphilis that was his father's only real request to him. She may or may not administer euthanasia.

Redgrave, in the last seconds, goes through the motions of choice and they look equally agonizing. She never, it seems, acts on automatic pilot. The performance is freshly created as you watch. There can be rough edges, and at times she seems absurdly youthful and free-flowing for a 19th-century Norwegian chaste. But the essence of this Mrs. Alving is the discovery of freedom, hence the potency of her scenes with Tom Wilkinson's pastor, who retreats terrified into his shell as she emerges from hers. He is a robust man who chooses to be weak: a fool who ends up gratefully embracing his folly.

The current between these two is so electric that one rather resents the intrusion of the other characters: an Oswald who shouts all the time and a Jacob Engstrand, the crooked carpenter, who suffers from terminal good taste, spurring all the easy laughs that Ibsen, who knew the value of a comic villain, has so generously offered him. An excessive virtue also affects the set: all bare walls and no atmosphere, elemental or domestic.

In one respect, Ibsen has had a grim last laugh. We can no longer dream as dated a play that enlists venereal disease as an agent of destruction. No AIDS play could pre-

sent the moral issues with more devastating clarity.

The National Theatre's two biggest successes of last year were American family pieces, both autobiographical, both set in the Depression: Neil Simon's "Brighton Beach Memoirs," now translated to the Aldwych, and Arthur Miller's "The American Clock," promoted from the Cottesloe to the Olivier, where it has acquired several

THE LONDON STAGE

al extra actors and a revolving stage, all of which fill out Peter Wood's production very nicely.

Miller's play is now billed as a vanguard, acknowledging the importance of period songs to the show's appeal.

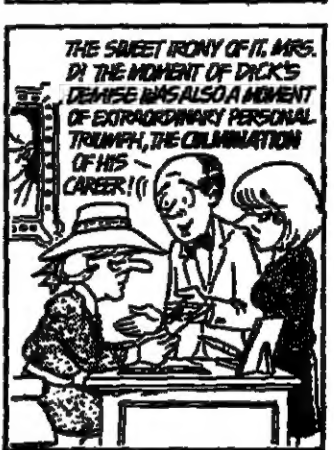
But though the staging works as well as ever, the play does not. The split focus is far more damaging on a bigger stage. The play brings in too many extraneous characters to be a tight family drama, too few to be a comprehensive American epic. Miller acknowledges a debt to Studs Terkel's book "Hard Times": I wondered what the company might have achieved if they had worked out their own play from the

book. Some of them have left back into the smugly exaggerated imitation-Yankee that I thought had died out years ago, but others are excellent: Neil Dargatzis as the young Miller, Barry James (humor as an evening wear) ("Just let me write one hit, monna") and, above all, Sara Kestelman as the materfamilias, stretched until she breaks. That is one of the play's many good scenes. But when her son tells us that she symbolizes the American morality, it won't wash. She may do so, but he hasn't left himself time to prove the point.

The Jerusalem, also Simon, of Brighton Beach was far more successful, probably among the sedating families of modern drama. Simon's craftsmanship has never been firmer or more apparently relaxed, and he never baffles us to laugh, though of course we do. We believe in the economics, too. The production has two new leading actresses: Susan Engel has the sound and the shape of the Jewish mother but not the terrifyingly illogical authority. Dorothy Tutin plays the widowed Aunt Blanche with great tremulous charm.

Robert Cushman is a London-based theater critic and broadcaster.

DOONESBURY



General News

Arafat Denounces West Bank Aid Plan

New York Times Service

BAGHDAD — Yasser Arafat has denounced a Jordanian program for Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories, declaring that the United States and Israel would use the plan to impose "a de facto normalization of relations" between Jordan and Israel.

Mr. Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, also cautioned the Arab countries against supporting the plan, contending that it would mean "an acceptance of the continuation of the Israeli occupation for at least five years or even longer."

"We are against the so-called development program which is currently being implemented in the occupied territories because we cannot possibly believe that our enemy is really concerned about the development of our land" while it is under Israeli occupation, Mr. Arafat said in an interview here Saturday.

Jordanian officials have portrayed their \$1.4 billion program as the only way to prevent an Israeli-forced exodus of Palestinians from the occupied West Bank to Jordan. The five-year development plan, which would focus primarily on housing for the Palestinians, has been viewed as a way for Jordan to reassert its legal responsibility for the West Bank, which Israel has occupied since 1967, by providing an alternative source of aid.

Ryzhikov Arrives in Helsinki

The Associated Press

HELSINKI — Prime Minister Nikolai I. Ryzhikov of Russia arrived here Tuesday to begin his first visit in the West.

DEATH NOTICE

TUBBS, Helene McGill, the Director and member of the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Club deeply regret the passing after a long illness of its beloved Director, Helene McGill Tubbs of N.Y. Mrs. Tubbs was well known in both America and Rome during the 1940's and 1950's as a very successful society singer. She was particularly prominent as a figure in the international movie set. Her support of the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Club was legendary. She is survived by her cousin, Mr. Mack of Minneapolis, where she was born. Memorial services will be held on Wednesday, January 7th at 10:30 a.m. at the Church of Saint Monica, 413E, 79th St., N.Y. 10021. Any memorial contributions are suggested to be made to the Saint Monica's Organ Restoration Fund, or the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Club, 283 Lexington Ave., New York 10017 R.I.P. Ivan Cholevsky, President Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Club.



GUARDING AGAINST THE COLD — A soldier of the honorary guard in Helsinki wears a mask in the face of temperatures as low as minus 22 degrees Fahrenheit.

Behind the Strife: Chirac Trying to Change a System

By Axel Krause

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — At the heart of France's worsening strike of public workers is a question that extends far beyond the state-owned SNCF railroad system and holding the line on wages: Is it possible to change and eventually reduce long-established privileges, working habits and benefits of five million state employees?

No previous French government has launched a major effort to address that issue. But for the conservative government of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, reducing the costs in the state-controlled sector, which represents about 30 percent of France's gross national product, and making it more efficient, is crucial for stimulating the economy.

That explains why the government remains determined to implement a pay scale based on merit, rather than on seniority, at the SNCF and possibly in other state-controlled enterprises. The original plan for the railway was suspended last week, but union leaders are convinced it will resurface soon in another form.

The railroad program, aides to Mr. Chirac and government officials emphasized, was only a first step in providing the SNCF greater flexibility in managing its 230,000 employees and, above all, reducing costs.

The railroad has not earned a profit since 1969, but last year it reduced its loss to an estimated 3.4 billion francs (\$532 million) from 4.4 billion francs in 1985. Before the strike began, the railroad had hoped to be in the black by 1989.

However, most employees of the SNCF and other state-owned enterprises, such as the postal and telecommunications author-

ity, are determined to keep the established systems unchanged.

Backed by national unions, they are challenging what has been called "the Chirac

NEWS ANALYSIS

revolution," which is based on reducing the role of the state in the economy and restoring companies to profitability.

At the Gare du Nord in Paris, where the strike began Dec. 18, a striking railroad engineer said:

"We have built up a system of privileges and benefits, and we are determined to keep it that way, whatever Mr. Chirac or the SNCF management wants."

The scope of the problem was first outlined several years ago by a best-selling book, "Toujours Plus," or "Always More," which has sold about one million copies and is still selling.

The author, François de Closets, a television commentator on economic affairs, said that what had been accumulated by workers at the SNCF, the Paris Métro, the electricity and gas utilities and in other state-controlled enterprises was extraordinarily costly to taxpayers. He said that the phenomenon was being deliberately hidden from most of the French public.

Workers in most of those sectors were either still striking Tuesday or planned work stoppages in the next several days. Their spokesmen said they were primarily protesting the government's determination to hold down overall wage increases to around 3 percent this year.

But they quickly added they were equally determined to fight plans aimed at stream-

lining career advancement programs and other changes in benefit programs that they say are being planned within their enterprises.

At the RATP, the Paris Métro and bus network, workers were not only seeking wage increases but also were challenging a plan to eliminate jobs based on productivity. Leaders of the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor alleged that the RATP management was seeking to institute changes similar to those at the railroad. That has been repeatedly denied by the RATP management.

The benefits, many dating from the post-war period, include job security programs that emphasize advancement by seniority and restrict newcomers, provide generous travel allowances for employees and their families, tax advantages, special bonuses, reduced rates on personal use of utilities as well as employer-paid vacation and recreation plans.

These, Mr. de Closets said, had become "like constitutional rights, intangible, perpetual. They can only be negotiated upwards, never downwards."

Noting that no previous conservative or leftist government had "dared" attempt a change of the system, Mr. de Closets argued that what had emerged were two major groups in France's working population.

He identified them as "those comfortably installed in their fortress enterprises" and "those facing uncertainty and unhappiness at their precarious situation," a reference to workers facing possible layoffs in other sectors of the economy.

France's unemployment rate has stabi-

Charter 77 Appeals for Democracy

Reuters

PRAGUE — The Czechoslovak human rights group Charter 77 marked its 10th anniversary Tuesday with a call for people to try to create greater democracy in the Communist nation.

Charter 77, Eastern Europe's oldest civil rights group, said in a six-page declaration that people had to act now to prevent change from being forced on them.

"If we wait until social conflicts grow to such an extent that change is forced on us by catastrophic events, then we would be acting against ourselves," it said.

"We must wake up from sleep, not fall prey to a feeling of helplessness," it added, appealing to all people to show courage and exercise their full rights as citizens under domestic and international law.

The human rights group held a news conference to mark the anniversary despite a police operation to prevent it from taking place.

Charter 77 sources said that at least five prominent members of the group were detained to stop

them from taking part in the conference, attended by 10 foreign journalists.

The police prevented others, including Vaclav Havel, a playwright, from leaving their homes. Among those detained were Jiri Dienstbier, a former Charter 77 spokesman, Vaclav Maly and Anna Sabatova.

Although fewer than 2,000 people, mainly disaffected intellectuals and former Communist officials, have signed the charter, the authorities acknowledge its importance by continued harassment of those who work within the movement.

One of three 1986 spokesmen, Martin Palous, and one of the three appointed for 1987, Libuse Silhanova, addressed journalists who assembled later in a private apartment.

They expressed hope for a gradual easing of the restrictions on political change in Czechoslovakia over the past 17 years and said they were encouraged by reforms under way in the Soviet Union.

Files Are Said To Help Spot Nazi Suspects

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — Confidential postwar immigration files have helped turn up more than 150 new Nazi criminal suspects worldwide, including 44 in West Germany, according to a group that researches Nazi atrocities.

An official of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies predicted that the immigration documents would yield many more suspected Nazi criminals, including a large list of people living in the United States.

The documents, compiled by international relief agencies, including the International Red Cross, had been kept confidential to protect the privacy of refugees, Rabbi Marvin Hiler, the Wiesenthal Center dean, said Monday.

"They wound up protecting the Nazis," he said.

The files were obtained about three months ago, the rabbi said. Since then, he said, the Wiesenthal Center has notified governments of at least seven nations, including West Germany, of suspected criminals living within their boundaries.

He said the files disclosed 17 living in Britain, 50 in Australia, 26 in Canada, 13 in Sweden, 3 in Venezuela and 1, a Treblinka death camp guard living in Brazil. Rabbi Hiler said the staff would not disclose the names publicly.

A spokesman for the West German Justice Ministry, Jürgen Schmidt, confirmed receipt of the list and said Chancellor Helmut Kohl's office had also received a copy.

"We are already checking it," he said. "After our check has been completed we will send the names to the appropriate prosecutors' offices for further investigation."

He said the names on the list also would be furnished to the Nazi Documentation Center in Ludwigsburg for additional screening.

"It can be that some of the names on the list are already known here or that some already had come up in legal cases," he said.

None of the names will be made public to West Germany unless prosecutors determine there is sufficient evidence to file charges or unless suspects have been charged previously, Mr. Schmidt said.

Chile, Paraguay, Cuba Assailed for Repressing Media

United Press International

WASHINGTON — A survey of journalism in the Western Hemisphere lists Chile, Cuba and Paraguay as among the worst offenders against freedom of the press.

The annual survey by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs and The Newspaper Guild, released Monday, described the three countries as "dismal islands of repression," where journalists face "suppression, intimidation, beatings, arbitrary arrests, torture and outright murder."

In addition, the report said that other, more subtle forms of control are common in the hemisphere, "including economic reprisals and incentives." In most Latin American countries, the report said, governments exercise considerable control over newspaper distribution and broadcasting equipment, and reporters in some countries — including Mexico — routinely take bribes to supplement their inadequate salaries.

While urging condemnation of the Sadrinist government in Nicaragua for its suspension of the newspaper La Prensa, the report noted there may have been justification for the closure, since "fresh reports now show that La Prensa received funding from the U.S. government."

King Fahd to Visit Britain

Agence France-Presse

LONDON — King Fahd of Saudi Arabia will pay a visit to Britain from March 24 to March 27 at the invitation of Queen Elizabeth II.

NYSE Most Actives				
Symbol	Vol.	High	Low	Last
IBM	1,234,567	125.50	124.00	125.00
GE	987,654	45.20	44.50	45.00
AT&T	876,543	55.00	54.00	54.50
Merck	765,432	65.00	64.00	64.50
Amgen	654,321	75.00	74.00	74.50
Boeing	543,210	85.00	84.00	84.50
Johnson & Johnson	432,109	95.00	94.00	94.50
McKesson	321,098	105.00	104.00	104.50
Amgen	210,987	115.00	114.00	114.50
Amgen	109,876	125.00	124.00	124.50

Market Sales	
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	123,456,789
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	98,765,432
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	87,654,321
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	76,543,210
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	65,432,109
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	54,321,098
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	43,210,987
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	32,109,876
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	21,098,765
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	10,987,654

NYSE Index			
Symbol	High	Low	Close
NYSE	1,234.56	1,230.00	1,232.00
NYSE	1,234.56	1,230.00	1,232.00
NYSE	1,234.56	1,230.00	1,232.00
NYSE	1,234.56	1,230.00	1,232.00

Tuesday's NYSE Closing	
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00

AMEX Diary	
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00

NASDAQ Index	
NASDAQ	1,232.00
NASDAQ	1,232.00
NASDAQ	1,232.00
NASDAQ	1,232.00

AMEX Most Active	
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00

Dow Jones Bond Averages	
Dow Jones	1,232.00
Dow Jones	1,232.00
Dow Jones	1,232.00
Dow Jones	1,232.00

NYSE Diary	
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.	
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00
NYSE	1,232.00

Dow Jones Averages	
Dow Jones	1,232.00
Dow Jones	1,232.00
Dow Jones	1,232.00
Dow Jones	1,232.00

Standard & Poor's Index	
S&P	1,232.00
S&P	1,232.00
S&P	1,232.00
S&P	1,232.00

NASDAQ Diary	
NASDAQ	1,232.00
NASDAQ	1,232.00
NASDAQ	1,232.00
NASDAQ	1,232.00

AMEX Stock Index	
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00
AMEX	1,232.00

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

NYSE Again Rises to Record

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange continued to rise Tuesday, pushing the Dow Jones industrial average to its second record finish in two days.

The Dow, which scored 44.01 points Monday for its biggest daily point gain, edged up another 3.51 points Tuesday to 1,974.83.

Trading was heavy, but some of the institutional buying that has powered the Dow's gain sputtered. Profit-taking also kept Tuesday's gains modest.

Gainers led losers 9 to 7 among NYSE issues traded. Volume rose to 189.3 million shares from 181.85 million on Monday.

The New York Stock Exchange composite index rose 0.42 to 144.81. The price of an average share added 11 cents.

A strong bond market and the absence of tax-related selling pressures, which fueled a 75-point gain for the market Friday and Monday, were also factors Tuesday, analysts said. But at mid-day Tuesday, profit-taking in the bond market encouraged a similar move in stocks.

"The market got a little tired on a short-term basis" in the middle of the session, said Gerald Simmons, managing director in the listed trading department at Smith Barney, Harris Upham. "Some of the buying power has spent itself."

He said that scattered profit-taking was normal after a dramatic two-day gain. He said investors are positive but cautious. "Two days does not a bull market make," he said.

"We started to return to a normalized market today," another analyst said. "There was no news around and nothing to sustain the market in terms of fundamentals. This movement upward was based mostly in internal dynamics of the market." He said some of the faltering in the bond market and weakness in the dollar contributed to a slowing in the market's momentum today as some investors recalled interest rate concerns.

"This two-day run, the most tremendous move in market history, can't be sustained forever," the analyst said. "The market can't fight the rules of gravity."

The market had climbed sharply Friday to fairly tight trading, but the advances Monday and Tuesday came on heavy volume.

James Andrews, head of the institutional trading desk at Jamey Montgomery Scott in Philadelphia, called the Dow's 75-point gain so far this year "very, very positive for the general market."

He said the industrial average could reach 2,200 by mid-February.

A favorable prognosis for President Ronald Reagan's health encouraged investors, analysts said. But they said a more concrete factor is that money managers are back in the market with money to spend.

Navistar was the most active NYSE-listed issue, unchanged at \$4. Baxter Travenol followed, rising 1/4 to 20 1/4.

Commonwealth Edison was third, rising 1/4 to 35 1/4.

(UPI, Reuters)

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
17	1.00	AAR	0.00	0.00	10.00	17	1.00	AAR	0.00	0.00	10.00
18	1.00	ADD	0.00	0.00	10.00	18	1.00	ADD	0.00	0.00	10.00
19	1.00	ADP	0.00	0.00	10.00	19	1.00	ADP	0.00	0.00	10.00
20	1.00	ADT	0.00	0.00	10.00	20	1.00	ADT	0.00	0.00	10.00
21	1.00	ADG	0.00	0.00	10.00	21	1.00	ADG	0.00	0.00	10.00
22	1.00	ADH	0.00	0.00	10.00	22	1.00	ADH	0.00	0.00	10.00
23	1.00	ADI	0.00	0.00	10.00	23	1.00	ADI	0.00	0.00	10.00
24	1.00	ADJ	0.00	0.00	10.00	24	1.00	ADJ	0.00	0.00	10.00
25	1.00	ADK	0.00	0.00	10.00	25	1.00	ADK	0.00	0.00	10.00
26	1.00	ADL	0.00	0.00	10.00	26	1.00	ADL	0.00	0.00	10.00
27	1.00	ADM	0.00	0.00	10.00	27	1.00	ADM	0.00	0.00	10.00
28	1.00	ADN	0.00	0.00	10.00	28	1.00	ADN	0.00	0.00	10.00
29	1.00	ADO	0.00	0.00	10.00	29	1.00	ADO	0.00	0.00	10.00
30	1.00	ADP	0.00	0.00	10.00	30	1.00	ADP	0.00	0.00	10.00

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
31	1.00	ADQ	0.00	0.00	10.00	31	1.00	ADQ	0.00	0.00	10.00
32	1.00	ADR	0.00	0.00	10.00	32	1.00	ADR	0.00	0.00	10.00
33	1.00	ADS	0.00	0.00	10.00	33	1.00	ADS	0.00	0.00	10.00
34	1.00	ADT	0.00	0.00	10.00	34	1.00	ADT	0.00	0.00	10.00
35	1.00	ADU	0.00	0.00	10.00	35	1.00	ADU	0.00	0.00	10.00
36	1.00	ADV	0.00	0.00	10.00	36	1.00	ADV	0.00	0.00	10.00
37	1.00	ADW	0.00	0.00	10.00	37	1.00	ADW	0.00	0.00	10.00
38	1.00	ADX	0.00	0.00	10.00	38	1.00	ADX	0.00	0.00	10.00
39	1.00	ADY	0.00	0.00	10.00	39	1.00	ADY	0.00	0.00	10.00
40	1.00	ADZ	0.00	0.00	10.00	40	1.00	ADZ	0.00	0.00	10.00

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
41	1.00	ADA	0.00	0.00	10.00	41	1.00	ADA	0.00	0.00	10.00
42	1.00	ADB	0.00	0.00	10.00	42	1.00	ADB	0.00	0.00	10.00
43	1.00	ADC	0.00	0.00	10.00	43	1.00	ADC	0.00	0.00	10.00
44	1.00	ADD	0.00	0.00	10.00	44	1.00	ADD	0.00	0.00	10.00
45	1.00	ADE	0.00	0.00	10.00	45	1.00	ADE	0.00	0.00	10.00
46	1.00	ADF	0.00	0.00	10.00	46	1.00	ADF	0.00	0.00	10.00
47	1.00	ADG	0.00	0.00	10.00	47	1.00	ADG	0.00	0.00	10.00
48	1.00	ADH	0.00	0.00	10.00	48	1.00	ADH	0.00	0.00	10.00
49	1.00	ADI	0.00	0.00	10.00	49	1.00	ADI	0.00	0.00	10.00
50	1.00	ADJ	0.00	0.00	10.00	50	1.00	ADJ	0.00	0.00	10.00

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
51	1.00	ADK	0.00	0.00	10.00	51	1.00	ADK	0.00	0.00	10.00
52	1.00	ADL	0.00	0.00	10.00	52	1.00	ADL	0.00	0.00	10.00
53	1.00	ADM	0.00	0.00	10.00	53	1.00	ADM	0.00	0.00	10.00
54	1.00	ADN	0.00	0.00	10.00	54	1.00	ADN	0.00	0.00	10.00
55	1.00	ADO	0.00	0.00	10.00	55	1.00	ADO	0.00	0.00	10.00
56	1.00	ADP	0.00	0.00	10.00	56	1.00	ADP	0.00	0.00	10.00
57	1.00	ADQ	0.00	0.00	10.00	57	1.00	ADQ	0.00	0.00	10.00
58	1.00	ADR	0.00	0.00	10.00	58	1.00	ADR	0.00	0.00	10.00
59	1.00	ADS	0.00	0.00	10.00	59	1.00	ADS	0.00	0.00	10.00
60	1.00	ADT	0.00	0.00	10.00	60	1.00	ADT	0.00	0.00	10.00

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
61	1.00	ADU	0.00	0.00	10.00	61	1.00	ADU	0.00	0.00	10.00
62	1.00	ADV	0.00	0.00	10.00	62	1.00	ADV	0.00	0.00	10.00
63	1.00	ADW	0.00	0.00	10.00	63	1.00	ADW	0.00	0.00	10.00
64	1.00	ADX	0.00	0.00	10.00	64	1.00	ADX	0.00	0.00	10.00
65	1.00	ADY	0.00	0.00	10.00	65	1.00	ADY	0.00	0.00	10.00
66	1.00	ADZ	0.00	0.00	10.00	66	1.00	ADZ	0.00	0.00	10.00
67	1.00	ADA	0.00	0.00	10.00	67	1.00	ADA	0.00	0.00	10.00
68	1.00	ADB	0.00	0.00	10.00	68	1.00	ADB	0.00	0.00	10.00
69	1.00	ADC	0.00	0.00	10.00	69	1.00	ADC	0.00	0.00	10.00
70	1.00	ADD	0.00	0.00	10.00	70	1.00	ADD	0.00	0.00	10.00

12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE	12 Month High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	PE
71	1.00	ADE	0.00	0.00	10.00	71	1.00	ADE	0.00	0.00	10.00
72	1.00	ADF	0.00	0.00	10.00	72	1.00	ADF	0.00	0.00	10.00
73	1.00	ADG	0.00	0.00	10.00	73	1.00	ADG	0.00	0.00	10.00
74	1.00	ADH	0.00	0.00	10.00	74	1.00	ADH	0.00	0.00	10.00
75	1.00	ADI	0.00	0.00	10.00	75	1.00	ADI	0.00	0.00	10.00
76	1.00	ADJ	0.00	0.00	10.00	76	1.00	ADJ	0.00	0.00	10.00
77	1.00	ADK	0.00	0.00	10.00	77	1.00	ADK	0.00	0.00	10.00
78	1.00	ADL	0.00	0.00	10.00	78	1.00	ADL	0.00	0.00	10.00
79	1.00	ADM	0.00	0.00	10.00	79	1.00	ADM	0.00	0.00	10.00
80	1.00	ADN	0.00	0.00	10.00	80	1.00	ADN	0.00	0.00	10.00

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

ITT-CGE Unit Wins Dutch Contract

THE HAGUE — The Dutch Post, Telephone and Telecommunications agency said Tuesday that it had awarded a contract for digital telephone switching equipment to ITT Nederland BV, a fully owned unit of a new joint venture between ITT Corp. and Cie. Generale d'Electricite.

The contract, for annual delivery of 80,000 digital lines in 1989, 1990 and 1991, is part of the Dutch PTT's 20-year modernization drive that started in 1985.

No financial details were made public. The agreement follows PTT contracts with the Dutch unit of Sweden's Ericsson Group and with Apt, the joint venture of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and NV Philips.

The contract with Ericsson calls for the annual delivery of 100,000 lines and with Apt for the annual delivery of 180,000 lines from 1987 through 1991, a spokesman for the PTT said. He did not make public financial details.

The PTT is preparing to change from a public service to a limited

but fully state-owned company by 1989. The 1987 government budget granted it 352 million guilders (\$162 million) for telecommunications investments. The figure was 327 million in 1986 and 380 million in 1985.

ITT Nederland is a fully owned subsidiary of the Dutch-based Teleglobe Communications NV, which was formed Jan. 1.

With annual revenue of about \$12.5 billion, Teleglobe combines

the worldwide telecommunications activities of ITT of the United States and France's state-owned CGE.

Apt — for ATT-Philips Telecommunications — has so far received the largest order given by the Dutch PTT. It said last week that it aimed to become the second supplier to the French PTT after CGE's Alcatel unit.

Dutch PTT telecommunications profits in 1986 rose by 43 million guilders to 1.12 billion guilders, the PTT said Monday. Total profits for last year were 1.10 billion guilders as the postal division registered a loss.

Westburne Ends Plan To Sell Unit to Dumez

CALGARY, Alberta — Westburne International Industries Ltd. said Tuesday that it has terminated its agreement to sell its United Westburne Industries Ltd. unit to Dumez SA of France.

It said the sale, for 201.3 million Canadian dollars (\$146.2 million), was called off primarily because it did not receive a favorable tax ruling by the Dec. 31 deadline for completing the agreement.

Apt a Big Winner

Apt said Tuesday it had won an order worth some 400 million guilders for an Indonesian project and a 36 million guilders contract to modernize telephone systems in Peru, Reuters reported from Fillmore, the Netherlands.

Both deals are to be partly financed with Dutch development aid.

General Automation Inc.'s board has approved the acquisition of Parallel Computers Inc., a maker of advanced fault-tolerant computer systems with annual revenues of about \$6 million. General Automation is based in Anaheim, California.

General Electric Co. of the United States has won a contract in Bangalore for 11 F-404 jet engines to power the prototype of the first

Indian-made fighter plane, the Press Trust of India reported. Lincoln National Life Insurance Co. of Fort Wayne, Indiana, has completed the previously announced acquisition of U.S. Healthcare Inc.'s interest in Healthwin, their joint venture company.

Memory Protection Devices Inc. has completed the acquisition of the assets and liabilities of Bogen, a division of Lear Siegler Inc., for an undisclosed amount of cash. Memory Protection said the cash was being held in escrow subject to compliance with New Jersey's Environmental Control Reclamation Act.

Peugeot Motors of America has raised prices an average of 1.5 percent on 1987 Peugeot 505 models. The price of Peugeot's least-expensive model, the 505 GL sedan, increased \$135, or 1 percent, to \$14,160. The top-of-the-line 505 STX's price will increase \$375, or 1.6 percent, to \$23,750.

Shawmut Corp.'s Shawmut Bank NA has bought all the stock of First Gibraltar Mortgage Corp. of Dallas from Gibraltar Financial Corp. in a cash transaction valued at more than \$50 million.

China Light & Power Co. is studying a site in the south China province of Guangdong for the possible construction of a pumped-storage electric power plant.

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CURRENCY MARKETS

Franc Falls Further Against Mark

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — European Monetary System currencies ended in turmoil Tuesday as the French franc slid below its base intervention point against the Deutsche mark despite heavy intervention.

In New York, the dollar closed mostly lower but traded in a narrow range as the market waited to see if central banks would intervene to support it.

"The market tested the dollar down to see if the Bundesbank would intervene, and it did not," the dealer said. "The dollar is now getting set to break out of its trading range, and the move is likely to be lower."

In Paris, the franc was fixed at 3.312 to the Deutsche mark, against 3.3069 at Monday's early fix. That was less than two cents from the limit at which EMS central banks must intervene to support it.

The dollar also rose against the franc in Paris, fixed at 6.3695 from 6.3625 on Monday. Dealers said that intervention by EMS central banks prevented a lower fixing for the franc.

But later the Bank of France ended intervention and the franc slipped to 3.3310 to the mark in other European trading, below its EMS floor of 3.3303.

Currency traders speculated that the decision to end support was designed to put pressure on speculators, by ending the certainty that they could buy francs at a set price, and on the West German authorities, by forcing them to spend marks on Wednesday to buy up all francs offered.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac blamed intervention by West Germany for the turmoil in the EMS.

He said, "There is a crisis of the mark and not of the franc. It is up to the Germans to take action."

He defended the decision an-

London Dollar Rates

Cables	Yld.	Mar.
Deutsche mark	1.9195	1.9200
Swiss franc	1.4700	1.4705
Japanese yen	189.75	189.75
Swiss franc	1.4700	1.4705
French franc	6.3700	6.3700

Source: Reuters

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OBSERVER

Television Readership

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK—Evidence piles up suggesting that television encourages people to read.

Serious thinkers, you may recall, used to say the tube would be the death of the word, which shows that serious thinkers can be just as wrong as frivolous thinkers when they start telling us what it all means for generations yet unborn.

Their error was demonstrated one morning recently on the Donatone show when the words "obsessed with Michael Jackson" appeared at the bottom of a screen which was otherwise filled with an adolescent female.

I had just turned the set on, the way you do when you're looking for an excuse not to go to work. Suppose they've just discovered Jupiter is on a collision course with Earth. If so, going to work would be rather pointless, wouldn't it?

So I flicked the switch and the female adolescent appeared. Normally I turn off television adolescents immediately, since it's almost certain they are either going to sing something appalling or whine about the misery of being young, but as I reached for the drop-dead button the words "obsessed with Michael Jackson" appeared.

The young woman apparently spent her waking hours thinking about Jackson, a charming man I met once in Los Angeles, where he presides over a national phone-in talk show for the ABC radio network.

Since his urbane, man-of-the-world charm, subtle wit and sophisticated insights into the modern predicament did not strike me as the sort of virtues that leave most adolescents "obsessed," I sat down to hear the case of this unusual girl. Sitting there, I was pleased to think that if I were being televised at that instant, the words at the screen bottom might say "obsessed with Russell Baker."

Gradually, though, it became clear that the Michael Jackson who obsessed the poor girl was not ABC radio's Michael Jackson but a youthful crooner of the same name, and off went the telly.

Television relies more and more on these written captions to make itself interesting. The people seem complaining about life's inevitabilities every night on local TV news

would all seem alike but for the growing custom of identifying them in print as "Irate Commuter," "Abandoned Wife," "Disgruntled Sanitation Worker," and so on.

One TV news department in Washington specializes in showing film of body bags being removed from scenes of grief and violence.

This station's news shows could relieve their monotony by putting some literature under the body-bag shots. For example, "Dead of Wife's Bedside Fetal," "Blasted While Robbing Gas Station," "Thumped With Escaped Lion," "Hit by Falling Airplane."

The most exciting advance for TV literature lately has been the appearance of Joe Ianni, who amiably lies about the cars he's peddling. This is television so literature that it can make no sense at all to people who can't read.

It is the TV commercial as a joke about the mendacity of TV commercials. As Joe Ianni makes outrageous claims for his Ianni cars, written captions at the bottom of the screen say, "He's lying," and then literally spell out the facts after each lie he tells.

The joke and the effectiveness of the commercial both rely on the written messages that correct the lying pictures. If you can't read, there is no way to know what's going on.

The success of Joe Ianni is being ascribed to the growth of "cynicism" in the TV audience. "Cynicism" was once defined by Ambrose Bierce as "that blackguard defect of vision which compels us to see the worst as it is instead of as it should be." The definition is applicable here. Indeed, what Joe Ianni finally acknowledges is what the TV audience has long known: to wit, that television is an instrument for the promotion of lies.

Now, it says, so much of the audience knows the truth that everybody can laugh about it. The question, of course, is, when will the news and the political advertising move into TV's literary future? Surely President Reagan's recent televised efforts to explain his troubles away would have been far more successful if at the bottom of the screen had appeared the words "Out to Lunch."

New York Times Service

By Frank J. Prial

New York Times Service

NEW YORK—Every year,

in late fall, a group of owners of some of the better-known Bordeaux chateaux pack up their bottles and a few shirts and hit the road to plant their products. They call themselves the Union des Grands Crus de Bordeaux because they represent all the classic chateaux, as they are known, in the Bordeaux region. There are several thousand chateaux, but only 61 hold the classified status.

For this year's road show, the fourth since the Union was created, an impressive sampling of 52 of the best-known wines of Médoc, Saint-Émilion, Pomerol, Graves and Sauternes were to be offered at simultaneous tastings on Nov. 28 in Paris, London, New York and Montreal.

As in the past, the tastings, which are held mostly for journalists and wine professionals, were to be coordinated by Steven Spurrier, the Paris and London wine merchant who also runs L'Académie du Vin, a Paris wine shop with branches in London and New York. The tastings always mark the public debut of the previous year's vintage, in this case 1985. Interest was high because 1985 had been billed as particularly good.

Suddenly, the program was changed. Pierre Tari, the owner of Chateau Giscours and the current president of the Union des Grands Crus, announced that the Paris and London tastings had been canceled. It didn't take long to find out what had happened: Bordeaux wines had been beaten by some California wines in a comparative tasting in New York, and Tari was in a suit.

The story began 10 years ago in Paris. Spurrier had been designated by California wine and was curious to see how a group of the most famous Bordeaux wines. He arranged a tasting and invited some of France's best-known wine experts. They were not told they would be comparing French and American wines; presumably, they assumed that all the wines were French.

When the smoke had cleared, the winner was a Californian, the

1973 Stag's Leap cabernet sauvignon. It had topped, in order, Chateau Mouton-Rothschild 1970, Chateau Haut-Brion 1970, Chateau Montrose 1970, Ridge Montebello 1971, Chateau-Lafite-Las-Cases, Maycasamas 1970, Clos du Val 1972, Heitz-Maria's Vineyard 1970 and Freemark Abbey 1973.

The French were not amused. Word spread that the California wines were big and fruity and showed well when young. Their own wines, the French noted, would reach their peak long after the American wines had faded.

So, last fall, Spurrier repeated the same tasting. The wines were the same, except for the Freemark Abbey, of which none remained. Ten years later, the French fared even worse. The Clos du Val '72 and the Ridge Montebello '71 came in first and second. The Montrose was third, followed by L'Académie-Las-Cases, Mouton, Stag's Leap, Heitz, Maycasamas and, last, what must have been a poorly stored Haut-Brion.

The tasters were mostly Americans, but they also included Georges Legré, sommelier at the Ritz in Paris, and Bartholomew Broadbent, the wine expert at Christie's in London.

Things might have ended there, they said, because, among other things, Bordeaux-California tastings had become "the favorite diversion of American wine professionals, who use them as a sort of marketing tool."

The two Frenchmen described such a comparison as "a permanent trap" for French wines. "In playing down their losses and bragging about their occasional victories," they wrote, "our California rivals plan to boost their reputation, little by little, to the heights of the great Bordeaux."

"Bordeaux has been winning parts of the overseas market, and certain wineries are in difficulty," Cazes and Prats continued. "The recent fall of the dollar has forced on the Californians the need to reorganize themselves. To do that, it is absolutely necessary for them to contest the supremacy of Bordeaux quality."

Neither in price nor in quality do the great wines of Médoc fear



A tasting in Bordeaux.

competition. This current challenge is more serious, more pertinent, because it is cultural. In reducing wine to a product that can be measured "scientifically," these joyless tastings mix the world of taste with that of numbers. The Californians have proved that their wines have body. Have they also a soul?

What can be said after a barrage such as that? Well, for one thing, I was one of the villains in the most recent of "these joyless tastings," and we all had a lot of fun — not because the Californians you but because it was a fascinating intellectual exercise. What is more, the other judges continued to speak to me even after it was revealed that I had listed a French wine, Chateau Montrose, first.

Moreover, Cazes and Prats may be wrong. There have been financial problems in California, it is true. Marginal operations may go by the board. But the fine-

wine business in California is fairly healthy.

Will we be able to say that about Bordeaux? With second-growth Bordeaux selling at about \$40 a bottle here, and with very little indication from the Médoc that any break in prices is imminent, how long can it be before the market collapses once again?

Abdallah H. Simon, the chairman of Segram Vintners and the most influential of fine-wine importers in this country, recently warned Tari and his Union des Grands Crus colleagues that, unless the prices of their 1986 wines were 25 to 30 percent below those of the 1985s, they would find no buyers here. And the United States represents 50 percent of the sales of some of the most famous wines, such as Lafite-Rothschild.

The prices of Bordeaux wines have been increasing at a rapid rate in recent years. Until the dollar began to weaken in 1985, there seemed to be no limit to what Americans would pay. But now the franc is 50 percent more expensive than it was in the spring of 1985, and shipments of Bordeaux wines to the United States have slowed to a trickle.

PEOPLE

Elton John's Surgery Said to Be Successful

Elton John, 39, is resting comfortably after throat surgery that appears to have cured a problem that has plagued the singer for several months. "The operation went very, very well and is successful," St. Vincent's Private Hospital in Sydney said in a statement. "It is hoped he will not need further surgery."

Dr. John Tunlick, a throat surgeon, said the British entertainer would not be able to sing for several months. The hospital, at John's request, would not reveal his ailment but a spokeswoman confirmed that the singer had had a biopsy.

Frankie Vaughan, 59, left a London hospital Monday eight days after surgery for a burst appendix and peritonitis and said he was "deeply upset" to be dropped from his starring role in the musical "42nd Street." The show's executive producer, Helen Montague, said Vaughan's contract had been terminated because "he was too ill to carry the burden of a big musical."

The "Dallas" star Victoria Principal has sued Joan Rivers for \$3 million, claiming the talk show hostess went too far when she blurted out the actress' unlisted home phone number on the air. In the suit, filed Monday in Los Angeles, Principal claims Rivers was interviewing "Dallas" co-star Kerri Kerkorian Dec. 15 when she repeatedly referred to Principal, intending to ask her "personal and private life." As millions watched, Rivers announced Principal's number on the air, the suit said, resulting in a flood of calls to the actress' home.

A 195-year-old sample of Madeira wine drew mixed reviews during a tasting to celebrate a wedding anniversary. Napoleone reportedly took the 1792 Madeira with him when he sailed into exile on St. Helena, but it was Jackson Strunk who uncorked the dark amber wine Sunday in Mexico City, California. "My God, that's dry!" Strunk exclaimed. "The initial harshness indicates it needs a lot more time — I would say a century." Strunk and wife Catherine bought the wine Oct. 23 at a Christie's auction in London for \$467 and poured one-once tastes for 12 friends during their 13th anniversary celebration.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SUPERIOR, JAN. 23-24, 1987

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